

# IN THESE TIMES

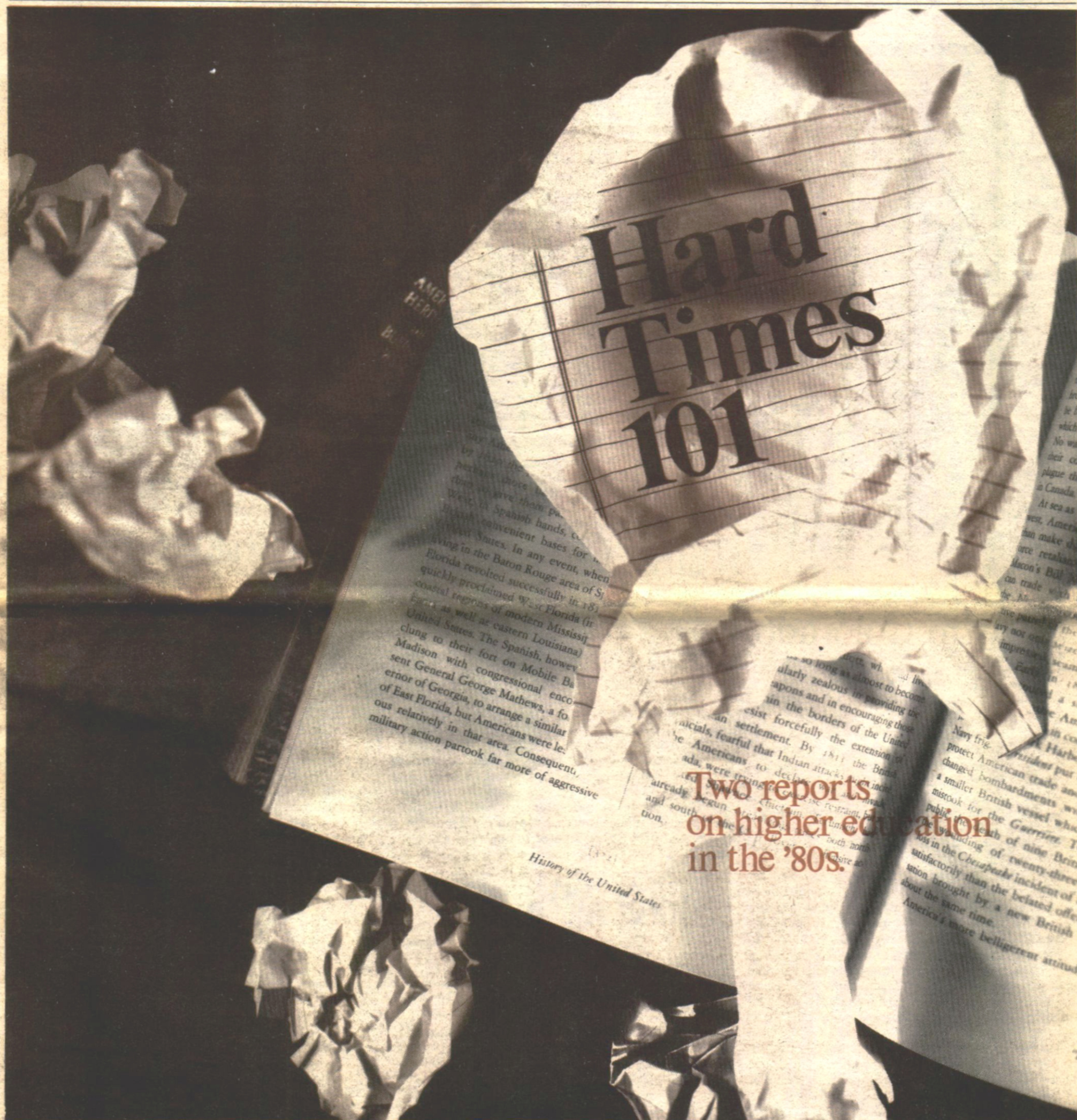


Guernica  
Goes  
Home  
Page 21

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# THE INSIDE STORY



## Ventilating mine safety in Colorado

By David Moberg

REDSTONE, CO

The reddish mountain peaks here sweep up in majestic contrast above green Crystal Valley. Not many miles to the east, urban vacationers crowd the chic shops of Aspen and bid up the price of land with a view. But people in towns such as Redstone and Carbondale know not only the scenic outside of these mountains. They know the insides as well.

Deep below the red rock, buried under 2,000 to 2,500 feet of overburden, there are seams of some of the country's highest-grade metallurgical coal, used for making coke. It was in great demand late in the last century, as the old brick coking ovens along the highway still testify. After years of inactivity, the mines reopened in the mid-'50s.

The mines at Redstone developed a reputation not only for their valuable coal but also for their unusual and dangerous character. "These mines are known throughout the whole American coal industry as bugaboos," 32-year-old miner Roger Jarboe said. "The word is, 'Stay out of them.'"

The first problem is that the mine liberates an unusually large amount of deadly, odorless, highly explosive methane gas. Also, as a result of the pressure from the mountain above, there are continual encounters with "bounces," "pushes" and "outbursts"—instances in which the mine ceilings or walls are squeezed together or the coal face explodes into smithereens, unleashing large quantities of gas.

These features are believed to have caused the disaster last April 15 that killed 15 miners at Redstone. The official report from the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) has not yet been released, but miners at Redstone suspect that at least some of the victims could have survived if the company had used a four-entry system that ventilates more rapidly instead of a less expensive two-entry arrangement.

### Weekend bleeding.

So it was understandable that safety would have been on the minds of miners as they entered negotiations last spring on a contract that expired May 13. They were especially disturbed that privately owned Mid-

Continent Resource, Inc., insisted on numerous changes in their contract that would, in miners' eyes, reduce safety in the mines as well as diminish the control workers would have over their lives on and off the job.

After many contracts and several strikes, the independent Redstone Workers Association had finally established a five-day work week with weekends off in their previous contract. Now Mid-Continent wanted to work the mines seven days a week, with miners working a schedule of six days on, three days off, then returning to a different shift. (Last spring the United Mine Workers fought back industry attempts to institute a seven-day operation in the soft coal industry.)

The union insisted that the mines needed the weekend to release the gas and to work out some of its bounces and pushes. "We want the ground to settle and the gas to bleed off," Bob Henderson said. "The union says it won't bleed off if we work seven days a week and the company says it will." (Officials at MSHA fall somewhere in between. Washington spokesman John McGrath notes that "if you leave a pillar long enough, you can reduce the problem [of gas] significantly." But Bill Knepp, a ventilation engineer in Denver, says that the gas in the very dense coal at Redstone doesn't migrate well and is not likely to bleed off even over a weekend.)

But safety wasn't the only reason for opposing the new work schedule. "Another problem is that everybody is set up for weekends off," Henderson said. "Your wife might be working Monday to Friday. I want to be able to spend weekends with my family."

Marvin Meyers, personnel director at Redstone, claims that the coal operations have lost money over the past year despite the high prices for metallurgical coal and new foreign contracts. (Mid-Continent financial records are not public, but its growing real estate and tourism subdivision is probably quite lucrative.) But miners point out that the company has been spending heavily for new longwall mining equipment and suggest that, even without a full week's production—which the company wants in order to cover its higher fixed capital costs—productivity, output and profit will increase with the new technique.

### Deeper, more dangerous.

Redstone miners see the full-week schedule as simply one sign of increasing pressure to get more production with less regard for safety. Roger Jarboe argues that as miners go deeper, the coal is harder to get out and under more pressure from the overburden. Consequently, there are more bounces and pushes. "So production has slowed down," he said. "You can't push as hard now, and the company doesn't seem to want to realize that."

Ralph Van Gaasbek, a veteran miner, saw working conditions deteriorating in recent years: "We had a superintendent at number three mine who was fantastic. He'd see that cross-cuts were cleared up so guys could get out in a hurry. Now it's production. If some thing falls, let it go. Now there are lots of obstacles to getting out."

The miners were also upset that the company wanted to eliminate the union safety committee; to cut in half their sick and personal days (Meyers denies it, saying the company wanted simply to schedule more days off); to eliminate the royalty payments for health and welfare in favor of a company-controlled insurance plan (now the union shares administration of the fund, and if all the money is not needed for its intended purpose, part of it is redistributed to miners as a bonus); and to introduce new penalties of suspension or dis-

missal for "insubordination."

Henderson recalled a time when he discovered methane at a dangerous level and turned off the power for the machines. His boss argued it was safe; Bob threatened to go to MSHA. Eventually the gas was cleared off. "Under insubordination I could have been suspended for 15 days," he said. "So we could end up with another 15 to 20 men killed." Personnel director Meyers says, "I don't believe our foremen are being paid to be told to go to hell."

Money was never an issue. Mid-Continent had paid above UMW scale, which helped keep the national union out. Now Redstone workers make \$110 a day, compared to \$95 at UMW mines.

### A bad time to strike.

Having reached an impasse, the roughly 325 members of the Redstone Workers Association struck on July 9. It wasn't the ideal time, since the company was able to use a newly expanded supervisory force to install longwall equipment and the Korean contract coal wasn't due until early fall. Also, Mid-Continent began to bring in strikebreakers. Toward the end of August, after seven weeks on strike, the local union leadership recommended that members return to work without a contract and then vote to become affiliated with the United Mine Workers in November when a representation election could be held.

"The membership was hurting financially," president Charles Corey said. "We were providing food, but they were losing cars and getting eviction notices. The company had also threatened to fire any strikers who didn't return. Although community support had been high, since the safety issue and mine disaster touched nearly everyone in the valley, and few workers crossed the picket line, it had come to a point where it looked like we'd go down the tubes."

Despite several organizing efforts, the UMW had been rebuffed in the past. Redstone miners were proud of their union and liked having local control. They also worried about being drawn out on strikes with eastern miners. "We always knew the company could break our small, independent union," Corey said, "but we didn't think they wanted to. The alternative was the UMW," which Corey sees as offering lawyers, safety experts and training to buttress their union.

But Mid-Continent wants no union at all. "We want to go non-union," Meyers said. "We can't offer the wages we pay and pay high royalties on UMW coal.... The only thing the UMW can win is a seat at the bargaining table. It's to say bluntly, what assurance is there we will give a better contract with them sitting there? ...It's a proven fact most non-union mines have greater productivity, less employee turnover, better morale than a union mine. There's not the friction between company and union, which protects deadbeats, thieves, absentee people—everybody down the line." To keep out any union, Mid-Continent is devoting long hours to interviews with workers and sending foremen to training sessions on how to handle workers to minimize union sentiment.

Mid-Continent will play on existing antipathy to the UMW, its high wages and the promise of the "open door" to management without a union. The union leaders count on the more experienced miners to know that their safety underground in this dangerous mine depends on having a strong union that can bring in a good contract and keep the pace of production consistent with safe work. "This is a mine that has to rest," Bob Henderson insisted. "There's no getting away from it."

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IN THESE TIMES

# No more New Deal on homes

By Thomas Brom

SAN FRANCISCO

**P**ANIC IS NOW STALKING THE American savings and loan industry, which provides more than half the nation's home mortgages. Withdrawals exceeded deposits by \$5.6 billion in July, only slightly less than the record \$5.8 billion outflow of the month before. Depositors large and small are getting out before the fall, while the government feverishly arranges forced mergers for the nearly 400 S&Ls on the financially "troubled" list. Congressional bail-outs are on the way, but Wall Street already is dismissing them as too little, too late.

"The danger of financial panic," said an official of the Federal Reserve Bank in San Francisco, "is greater now than in many years. Half the S&Ls are losing money. I believe between 20 and 25 percent of these institutions will disappear in the next year or two."

The impending crisis is still largely hidden from public view. In the financial industry, fear of failure or rapid consolidations are reduced to a bead of perspiration on a vice president's upper lip. "We try to keep all the explosions under water where no one can hear them," says Randall Pozdena, an economist for the Federal Reserve Bank here.

The explosions in the S&L industry result from a combination of inflation, sustained high interest rates and the Depository Institutions Deregulation & Monetary Control Act of 1980, which changed the rules for much of the banking community. When Congress passed the law early last year, Wall Street knew a "shake-out" of historic proportions would soon follow. "In terms of casualties," wrote *Business Week*, "the next decade could be the bloodiest period experienced by financial institutions since the Great Depression." The business press widely predicted that the nation's 40,000 banks, thrifts and credit unions would be reduced by half, leaving only a few hundred that really mattered.

The most vulnerable sector is the savings and loan industry, a uniquely American institution created during the New Deal and loosely patterned after English "building societies." Over the years the federal government added a secondary mortgage market to give the S&Ls liquidity, deposit insurance to reassure savers and a variety of mortgage guarantees. As a result, more than 70 percent of S&L investments went into home mortgages. For a time, this combination of government backing and private enterprise was a classic New Deal success story: the S&Ls were able to earn handsome profits making otherwise risky long-term, fixed-rate home loans, and the percentage of Americans owning their homes rose from 44 percent to 65 percent.

But all that was before endemic inflation, a 20 percent prime lending rate and a national competition for the saver's dollar from the money market funds. The S&L "squeeze" — the difference between what they paid for money and what they earned on investments — virtually disappeared. By 1979, the cry went out that S&Ls could no longer make money on fixed-interest, 30-year mortgages.

The Federal Home Loan Bank Board (FHLBB) and state legislatures obliged by creating a range of variable-rate mortgages that rise and fall with inflation. The risk of long-term lending suddenly — and traumatically — shifted to the new homeowner.

## The collapse of the housing market.

But even that wasn't enough to revive the industry. Federal Reserve Bank chief Paul Volcker had embarked on a pure monetarist program for controlling inflation — a program that held the money supply so tight it created sustained high

interest rates that, ironically, fueled inflation.

One of the most immediate consequences of a 20 percent prime rate and a 17 percent home mortgage rate was the collapse of the U.S. housing market. Builders would not build with construction loans ranging well above 20 percent. Lenders could not find home buyers wealthy enough or crazy enough to commit themselves to an open-ended mortgage that begins at 17 percent and could go much higher.

With an effective housing demand of 2.5 million housing units in 1980, less than half that number were constructed. When President Reagan slashed housing subsidies in the Section 8 program, construction of low- and moderate-income housing in the United States virtually stopped.

"I doubt Volcker's intentions were to bring the housing industry to its knees," says the Fed's Pozdena. "But that's been the effect. At risk in not only Paul Volcker's reputation, but the entire theory of monetarism."

Although Volcker and Reagan insist that the housing industry just happened to be in the way of an otherwise splendid policy, some conservative economists are pleased with the result. Committed supply-siders—including Rutgers' George Sternlieb, Brookings' Anthony Downs and sociologist Amitai Etzioni—believe that Americans are "overhoused," that two-thirds of the nation owning homes is too much and that capital locked in houses could better be spent for new factories.

"There are some in the Reagan administration who decidedly feel that way," says Mark Clark of the U.S. League of Savings Associations in Chicago. "But you just can't yank money out of housing when millions of young people desperately want it. There will be a revolt. People won't stand for it."

## Bailout time.

Interest rates nevertheless remain the highest in this century, and the savings and loan industry has been desperately scrambling to adapt. After variable-rate loans came a new regulation permitting 20 percent of assets to be shifted into consumer lending. "Sure, it's much more profitable," says Carol Schatz, senior vice president of the California Savings and Loan League, "but that's 20 percent of assets taken away from housing loans."

Additional help came in the Reagan administration tax plan passed this summer by Congress. The bill included provisions for partially tax-exempt "All Saver" certificates and liberalized individual retirement accounts—all designed to win back accounts from the money market funds. "We expect to attract \$20 to \$30 billion from outside accounts," says Clark of the U.S. League of Savings Associations. The All Saver certificates go into effect October 1, accompanied by S&L fanfare worthy of the Second Coming.

But Wall Street isn't impressed. Critics point out that certificates will pay only 70 percent of the Treasury Bill rate, lock up the investment for a year and include penalties for closing an account early. "The loss of liquidity is an issue for big investors," says David Cross, senior economist at Chase Econometrics. "It's going to take all these programs and more to save the S&Ls."

Jonathan Gray, an analyst for Sanford C. Bernstein & Co. in New York, added glumly, "They're drowning. If they go from 15 feet under water to 12 feet under water, it isn't going to make much difference."

Late this summer, the S&Ls started showing multi-billion dollar withdrawals by their biggest investors, and the "troubled" list jumped by 100 institutions in a single month. "The administra-

tion won't permit a crash," Cross says, "despite its reluctance to intercede."

This time the Federal Home Loan Bank Board cried wolf. Already one S&L in Chicago had gone belly up—the first failure in more than a decade—and had taken \$3.1 million in uninsured deposits with it. When big investors started looking for the door, Federal Home Loan Bank chairman Richard Pratt realized he had to act quickly.

Last week Pratt helped engineer the biggest merger in savings and loan history between California Federal in San Francisco and two of the most "troubled" S&Ls in New York and Florida. It was

reduce the capital presently available for home mortgages.

"I always say there are two possible reasons to invest in housing," says Cal Fed chairman Frank. "You do it either because it's right, or because it's all you're permitted to do. Pick which one is correct."

"If we're no longer required to make mortgage loans, we just won't make them. From a public policy viewpoint, I think that's a mistake. I deplore it. I'm sorry for it. But we'll survive one way or another."

Indeed, the S&L crisis is still basically regional. Northeast and Midwest S&Ls make up the bulk of the troubled list,



Fed chief Paul Volcker may not have intended to ruin the U.S. housing market, but that has been one result of his pure monetarist program.

the first interstate S&L merger ever, permitted by new rules issued in March. Cal Fed now becomes the nation's largest federally chartered S&L in assets, with 136 offices in three states.

"This is all we can digest right now," says Cal Fed chairman Anthony Frank. "But the merger won't be the last in the industry. The Reagan administration wants consolidation in the financial markets. This deal wouldn't have been possible without government subsidies." The Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (FSLIC) could pay Cal Fed as much as \$10 million a month to offset losses by the weaker partners. That is still considered a bargain compared to the cost—and resulting panic—of letting hundreds of S&Ls fail.

Brent Beesley, FSLIC director, is now making forced merger a condition of aiding a sick S&L. He says that any S&L getting a capital infusion will be required to sign an agreement allowing the FSLIC to merge it involuntarily on a moment's notice.

The latest twist in the struggle for survival involves a proposal by two S&Ls to set up a subsidiary for the sale of stocks and bonds. If the FHLBB approves the plan, it will further blur the distinction between financial institutions and further

while California and Sunbelt institutions remain strong.

But conservative economists both in and out of the administration don't care much about either the health or traditional function of the S&Ls. Stanford economist Richard Muth, for instance, believes that private lenders will step into the housing market, but only when mortgages are fully indexed for inflation. "There's no great impact on housing if the S&Ls fail," he says. The *Wall Street Journal* commented that S&L presidents need not "fall on their swords, but only bow gracefully to the inevitable" by selling out to commercial banks.

Certainly the S&Ls appear more than ready to change rather than die. The pity is not that small capital has once again been gobbled up by bigger capital, or that government-designed financial institutions are collapsing into multi-service banks. The pity is that capitalism's endemic inflation has ravaged the U.S. housing industry and the New Deal public policy that supported it, leaving millions of Americans in the lurch. The "nation of homeowners" is producing a generation of renters permanently cut off from traditional sources of mortgage finance and the suddenly elite private housing market. ■



# IN SHORT

## Rise of the person-rem

The workforce at American nuclear power plants was exposed to 35 percent more radiation in 1980 than in 1979, according to a recent report by the Environmental Policy Institute (EPI). The addition of just one new operating nuclear plant during that period (which brings the total to 68) cannot account for so large a radiation jump—from 39,759 person-rem to 53,797 person-rem, based on the latest Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) figures.

This latest increase was no fluke: Radiation doses to nuclear plant workers have been rising steeply for the last three years. "The nuclear industry is relying on ever-larger numbers of workers to soak up radiation encountered in increasingly major repair efforts," says EPI researcher Fred Millar. Because the NRC limits radiation exposure to three rems per worker over each three-month period, nuclear plants must depend on thousands of temporary workers, called "jumpers," to do the high-radiation-impact jobs in major repairs on damaged nukes.

## The medical legacy

The rising exposure levels have sobering implications not only for present reactor workers, but also for their descendants. Last year, the National Academy of Sciences' advisory committee on the biological effects of ionizing radiation (the BEIR Committee) estimated that from three to 10 cancer deaths would occur among 25,245 nuke employees as a result of their workplace exposures to radiation in 1980. (Estimates from other scientists range up to 350 cancer deaths.) According to the BEIR Committee, if 50,000 person-rem accumulate each year among reactor workers for a 20-year period, there will be as many as 3,000 excess hereditary disorders for every 100,000 progeny. In 10 generations, reactor exposures will have led to as many as 1.5 million such disorders among living children, along with 4,600 recognized miscarriages in excess of the normal number.

## The honor system

Now that the American Lung Association of North Carolina has acknowledged for the first time that brown lung disease, or byssinosis, "may" incapacitate textile workers, the state's labor commissioner has asked federal OSHA officials to relax workplace inspection rules. North Carolina Labor Commissioner John C. Brooks' plan, reports Bill Adler, is to send out state officials as "on-site consultants" who would advise textile firms on "how to comply with health and safety regulations." Armed with this knowledge, Brooks says, employers under contract with the consultants would "promise" to comply with the regs—making surprise inspections unnecessary, right?

What the Brooks' proposal would really do, says Eric Frumin, health and safety director of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, "is completely eliminate the threat of an OSHA inspection. It would be like the police department making an agreement with organized crime not to do anything because the criminals have promised not to break the law."

## A "we" decade

Marking the tenth anniversary of his Public Citizen organization and his Public Interest Research Groups, Ralph Nader is inviting public-minded citizens to attend "a watershed gathering of high metabolism and consequence" at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C. "Taking Charge: The Next Ten Years," a two-day conference beginning on Friday, Sept. 25, comes at a time when, in Nader's words, "the government agencies designed to protect consumers and workers are being used against them." Along with numerous workshops on how to reverse that trend, Pete Seeger will sing, Phil Donahue will host a debate on media access and Mark Green—the former director of Public Citizen's lobbying wing and more recently an unsuccessful congressional candidate in New York City—will be the moderator of an open mike on the new conservatism. Call (202) 387-8030 for further details.

## No free toaster?

The Zodiac News Service reports that the Selective Security System has paid a junk-mail company \$20,000 for its list of more than a million young men's names and addresses. The information will facilitate a mass mailing, a new soft-sell prong in the government's blazing offensive against nonregistrants for the military draft: only 134 of at least 500,000 resisters now face prosecution ("In Short," Aug. 12).

—Josh Kornbluth



Dead bodies found along the road outside Santa Ana, one of the areas in El Salvador where terror tactics are employed to discourage leftist activity.

## The numbers war heats up while the body count rises

SAN SALVADOR—The body count, once a major element of U.S. political strategy in Vietnam, has come back into style in El Salvador. But unlike the death count in Vietnam, the politically important figures in El Salvador relate not to the number of soldiers killed but to the number of civilians murdered.

The Salvadoran Military Command keeps records of its own dead and estimates of enemy killed, but these figures are not released except in the form of memorial notices for soldiers that periodically appear in the newspapers.

The agencies keeping tab on the number of civilians killed include the government ministry of justice, the U.S. embassy, the Catholic Church's legal aid office, the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission and the University of Central America's Documentation and Information Center.

It is generally agreed that the ministry of justice keeps the poorest records. By law, any mysterious death must be investigated by a civil judge who is then expected to submit a report to the ministry. But in practice many judges are unwilling, unable or afraid to look into killings in their jurisdictions. Often they order quick burials and hope no one asks questions. A local justice did this in the case of the murdered American nuns. He was later found out and pressured to explain the role of the National Guard in the killings. He subsequently disappeared and is presumed dead.

Two other agencies that monitor

the killing, the Archbishop's legal aid office and the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission, have themselves been victims of the right-wing death squads. Both groups use newspaper stories, personal testimonials and reports from the field to compile lists of fatalities. But since staff members have been murdered, they have been forced to keep a lower profile than in the past, and their ability to collect data has suffered as a result.

The best records are kept by the University of Central America's Documentation and Information Center, which also uses newspapers, death notices and other public sources to compile statistics that are catalogued and continuously updated to avoid duplication.

"What we've noticed," one faculty member said, "is a proliferation of massacres, decapitations and tortures late this summer. In one week more than 100 decapitated bodies were found. And these terror tactics are being used in areas like Santa Ana that have seen little guerrilla activity so far. The purpose seems to be to prevent any leftist activity from getting underway."

The center's figures show that the murder rate is still rising, while the U.S. embassy claims that the death squads have become less active in recent months.

"With more than 25,000 killed to date, we're beginning to see a numbers war," says a political observer in San Salvador. "The U.S. can't accept figures that attribute

80 percent of the killing to pro-government forces. They have to discredit all previous figures as Democratic Revolutionary Front propaganda while generating their own numbers to show that the left is responsible for most of the killing. That way they can maintain public support at home. In a war like this, even the dead have their political uses."

—David Helvarg

## The Black Hills are not for sale

THE BLACK HILLS, S.D.—Determined to make the point again that the Black Hills are sacred Indian lands that cannot be sold, Russell Means and several hundred Lakota (Sioux) established the Yellow Thunder Camp five months ago on U.S. Forest Service land. They applied for a special-use permit to build solar-heated schools, ceremonial buildings, homes and garden plots at the camp, 14 miles from Rapid City.

Forest Service officials rejected the request, on the basis that it "was not in the public interest," and ordered everyone to leave the camp by Sept. 8. Between 50 and 125 Lakota have defied the government's order, remaining in teepees and preparing for winter.

As the deadline passed, the U.S. Attorney's office in Rapid City filed a civil suit and asked for a permanent injunction to keep any Lakota from occupying any portion of the Black Hills unless they comply with U.S. law.

The Lakota have filed a counter-suit. They cite the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, Article VI of the United States Constitution and the 1978 Indian Religion Freedom Act as giving them the right to remain at the campsite.

The Fort Laramie Treaty set the boundaries of the Great Sioux Nation at a time when the ratio of whites to Indians in the West greatly favored the latter. Parts of Montana, the Dakotas, Wyoming and Nebraska were given to the Lakota "in perpetuity."

But in 1874, George Custer confirmed that there was gold in the Black Hills, and thousands of miners violated the treaty. In 1876, the Lakota and their allies won the battle at Little Big Horn, but lost their war to hang onto the land they had been guaranteed.

By 1934, the Great Sioux Nation land had been fragmented and decimated. In 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Black Hills had indeed been illegally taken from the Lakota and that the Indians should be repaid for the theft.

The "traditionals," as well as young urban-educated Lakota like Means, have refused the government offer of \$120 million. If they surrender the land they have contested for more than a century, according to spokespeople at Yellow Thunder Camp, private companies will destroy the sacred hills to extract their minerals—chiefly uranium and coal.

Meanwhile, Lakota security guards at Yellow Thunder Camp have encountered growing numbers of well-armed FBI spies. Means and others belonging to the American Indian Movement initiated a previous occupation at Wounded Knee, S.D., in 1973. That action ended with the government breaking its word and arresting several AIM leaders.

—Timothy Lange



# IN THE NATION

## EDUCATION

# Politics are a factor in tenure battles

By John Judis

A SIMPLE-MINDED ECONOMIC determinist, who believed that the ideas promulgated in a society universally mirror the imperatives of the corporate elite, would have trouble explaining what has happened in the social science departments of major American universities during the last 10 years. While the overall political debate has been shifting, steadily rightward, academic disciplines like sociology, economics, political science and history have become increasingly open to marxist and populist ideas. Professors who in a previous era might have been forced out of universities instead find themselves chairing departments and even serving as presidents of scholarly associations.

Last year, for instance, historian William Appleman Williams, whose critical study of American imperialism, *The*



Theda Skocpol

Over the last decade, left ideas have gained stature in academia, but in a tight market for teaching jobs, old biases resurface.

*Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, created outrage in 1959 among his fellow historians, was elected president of the Organization of American Historians. Leftist Ira Katznelson, an editor of the neo-marxist journal *Politics and Society*, has recently become chairman of the political science department at the University of Chicago. Graduate programs in sociology at the State University of New York at Binghamton, in economics at American University and at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and in history at Northern Illinois University,

have become dominated by a new breed of American marxists.

But fiscal retrenchment and the increased vocational orientation of today's college students have reduced the need for new professors in many of these disciplines. While the enrollment in graduate programs for business has doubled over the last 10 years, enrollment in graduate social science or liberal arts programs has declined 10 to 15 percent. The *Chronicle of Higher Education's* 1980 survey of college freshmen found 23.9 percent listing some form of business

study as their "probable field of study." In contrast, 0.6 percent listed history, 2 percent listed political science, and 0.1 percent listed philosophy.

The growing conservatism of the society as a whole and the current ruling coalition has also found expression in the concerns of college administrators. The result has been a wave of tenure battles involving left-wing junior faculty. These controversies have suddenly focused attention of the transformation that has occurred in the last 10 years—and in doing so may seriously threaten its progress.

### Disappointing Marxism.

Last summer, the University of Maryland's administration won an important court battle against political scientist Bertell Ollman, whose appointment as the College Park department chairman it had vigorously opposed. (*In These Times*, Aug. 26, 1980.) But there is another case of almost equal importance stirring in the Maryland system. It involves Phillip Brenner, an assistant political science professor at the University of Maryland, Baltimore.

Brenner is an Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) fellow, an expert on Congress and an editor of *Politics and Society*. He has been teaching at the University of Maryland since 1975. Earlier this year, the school's promotion and tenure committee met and unanimously recommended him for tenure. The senior members of his department had voted three to one on his behalf, and the department chairman, Louis Cantori, concurred with that vote, as did the dean and a campus-wide tenure committee.

But vice-chancellor Walter S. Jones blocked Brenner's promotion. In a letter to Brenner, Jones noted that although Brenner's work "presumes a marxist perspective, the level of sophistication in the analytical use of marxism is terribly disappointing."

Jones himself is a political scientist whose tenured appointment in the Maryland department was made by the chancellor over the department's objection. A subsequent conversation between Jones and Brenner's department chairman revealed that Jones still thinks of marxism in terms of Lenin and Stalin.

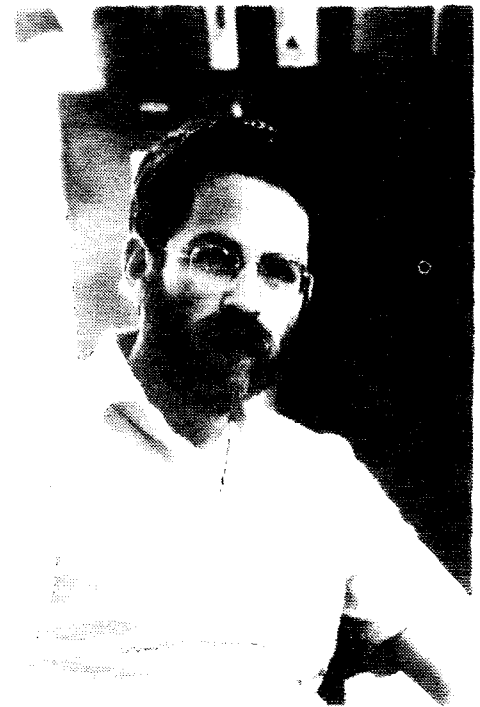
"I think you don't understand Brenner's marxism," Cantori told Jones. "It is humanistic. It is not economic determinist. It's a different kind of Marxism."

"I've never heard of that," Jones replied.

(Reached for comment last week, Jones refused to explain his comments on Brenner's marxism.)

Brenner has appealed his case to university president, John S. Toll. On the basis of the Ollman case, Toll might be expected to rule against Brenner, but some insiders argue that Toll, having

*Continued on page 6*



Phillip Brenner

ment based on the North Carolina model.

Bush's address at Tuskegee Institute has a disturbing historical precedent. In November 1898 another Republican, William McKinley, made a political sojourn to that college community. Tuskegee Institute President Booker T. Washington had come to national prominence several years before by issuing his "Atlanta Compromise" address, which accepted the legal segregation of the races in return for black economic and educational benefits. McKinley applauded Washington as "one of the great leaders of his race" and called Tuskegee a "generous and progressive" model for all black education. McKinley's speech, like Bush's, was primarily symbolic, yet both provided political support for the construction and maintenance of all-black

# Will black colleges survive?

By Manning Marable

ITHACA, N.Y.

THIS SUMMER A FEDERAL DISTRICT court in Raleigh, N.C., approved a settlement between the Justice Department and state officials that ended 11 years of litigation over racial imbalance in state funded higher education. The North Carolina agreement, which is already being used as a model for similar settlements in other southern states, was denounced as a return to the doctrine of "separate but equal" by the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund—as well as by the alumni organizations of several black colleges in North Carolina. But it was welcomed by many of the administrators and faculty of black colleges and universities, who believe that the special role of black schools has been threatened in recent years.

During the Carter presidency black colleges received a smaller percentage of the federal funds for higher education than they had under either Nixon or Ford. The Carter administration also announced plans to desegregate two traditionally black colleges in Texas. By late 1979, *Washington Post* columnist William Raspberry expressed the view—widely held among blacks—that administration officials were "unfamiliar with

the historical role of [traditionally black] colleges" and "indifferent to the vital services they perform."

Last year, Ronald Reagan was the only presidential candidate specifically to court black educators and to pledge to "improve and defend" black schools. His chief black aide, Art Fletcher, was a former director of the United Negro College Fund, and candidate Reagan took the opportunity of Black College Day on Sept. 29, 1980, to charge publicly that "the Carter administration—in the name of desegregating black colleges—is forcing them to become schools for training everybody but blacks." Reagan promised not only to push for a larger share of federal Title III monies for black colleges, but also to encourage corporations to increase their support to these institutions.

Those pledges were repeated after the election by vice president George Bush, standing in for the recently wounded president at the 100th anniversary celebration of the Tuskegee Institute last spring.

But the real key to the Reagan higher education strategy, as it began to unfold over the summer, is to ease desegregation requirements on all state-funded programs for higher education. The North Carolina agreement will leave that state's segregation-era institutions—both black and white—more or less intact, while allocating some additional state re-

sources to the black schools. It eschews quotas for hiring minority faculty and staff at North Carolina's predominately white universities and commits \$80 million to "upgrade the physical plants and academic programs" at black institutions. There are no provisions in the plan to upgrade or expand masters or doctoral programs at black universities, but it does include some modest affirmative action guarantees to increase the number of black graduate students in both black and white schools.

Reagan's easing of desegregation pressures in higher education is a back-handed blessing for traditionally black schools.

The change in tune in the Reagan Justice Department had an immediate impact on pending lawsuits against some states. Both Louisiana and Mississippi, which have consistently refused to alter their dual-college systems, were sued by the federal government for failure to enforce Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibiting racial discrimination at federally supported institutions. The Louisiana case has now been postponed so that state and federal officials can redraft a settle-

educational institutions. Within three years after McKinley's Tuskegee visit, blacks were completely disenfranchised in the state of Alabama, and the rule of "separate but equal" had become institutionalized throughout the South. The dual system of segregated higher education would continue for more than 60 years. Will history repeat itself?

Black colleges are largely the product of racial segregation. Ninety-one of the

*Continued on page 10*



# Faculty

Continued from page 5

emerged triumphant from the Ollman battle, might prove magnanimous.

Under the leadership of Frank Erwin, the regents of the University of Texas had waged constant war upon academic freedom during the '60s and early '70s. But in the last years, the richly-endowed University of Texas at Austin had been attempting to regain academic respectability.

In a 1980 summer school course on "The Politics of American Culture," assistant instructor Kathleen Kelleher, a graduate student in the department, invited two gay rights leaders to speak to her students. Two of her students walked out of the class and complained to the department chairman. "I am a Christian and homosexuality does not go along with Christianity in any way," said one.

An investigation by the acting department chairman, Robert L. Hardgrave, exonerated Kelleher and praised her as a "conscientious, responsible and effective teacher." But associate dean Joseph M. Horn charged that Kelleher had "clearly exceeded her authority as an assistant instructor" and had "given undue weight to [her] political and moral judgments." When regular chairman Charles Cnuddle returned in August, he demoted Kelleher from assistant instructor to teaching assistant. Cnuddle noted that Kelleher's values "had to do with a particular left-wing view of American politics."

Cnuddle himself was brought in two years ago by university dean Robert King, who described the Texas government department as "third rate." King objected to the lack of what are sometimes called "mainstream" political scientists, concerned with the quantitative analysis of political behavior. An evaluation of the department, sponsored by King, had also found "amiable anarchy" within the democratically-run department and the "unjustifiable use"

of introductory courses to "shake up students' beliefs."

During the last academic year, the department's executive committee recommended tenure for Alfred Watkins, the leftist author of *The Practice of Urban Economics* and a contributor to such publications as *The Nation* and *Working Papers*, and it recommended against tenure for quantitative analyst Thomas Schwartz. Cnuddle turned down Watkins for tenure, promoted Schwartz to full professor and, ignoring their requests for pay hikes and leave, convinced three of the department's young political theorists—Jim Miller, Jim Schmidt and Herb Hirsch—that they should accept jobs elsewhere.

## The collegiality factor.

Perhaps the best-known tenure battle has been in the Harvard sociology department, which in September 1980 split five-to-five over whether to give Theda Skocpol tenure. Skocpol, a *Politics and Society* editor and author of the award-winning *States and Social Revolutions*, subsequently filed a grievance with the faculty of arts and sciences, which appointed a three-person committee to investigate whether political or sexual discrimination—the Harvard department has never had a tenured woman professor—played a role in the split vote. In March the grievance committee, chaired by government professor Stanley Hoffman, recommended that Skocpol's case be reviewed by a specially appointed ad hoc committee. Two of the three grievance committee members said they suspected sexual discrimination in the department's decision.

The ad hoc committee met in May and failed to reach a consensus. Four of the five social scientists who were from outside Harvard recommended tenure. Three of the four from Harvard urged against tenure. They passed the decision onto Harvard president Derek Bok, who last July announced that he would need three years to make a final decision on the Skocpol case. Skocpol, who already had tenure offers from Chicago, North Carolina, Stanford and Wisconsin, accepted a position at Chicago. "I had no

illusions what my fate would be if I turned down outside offers and went back there," Skocpol said.

Department members deny that politics was an issue. They can justly cite a recent tenure offer to marxist Eric Wright. But while strict left-right politics was not a deciding factor, feminist politics may have been. One former Harvard faculty member who has been close to the case cited a string of considerations, from Skocpol's youth to her having published only one book, but concluded that the question of whether department members thought they could "work with her" was important. "I think it played a sufficiently significant role that it tipped the balance," he said.

Skocpol's case recalls that of feminist literary critic Annette Kolodny, who in 1974 was denied a promotion and in 1977 was denied tenure at the University of New Hampshire on grounds of "collegiality." Kolodny's department, like Skocpol's, had never had a tenured woman professor. Kolodny filed suit and won a \$120,000 settlement from the university.

## Up from the '60s.

Brenner, Watkins and Skocpol are all in their thirties, members of the Vietnam generation. During the late '60s and early '70s, they went to graduate school in the social sciences. Their work was heavily influenced by post-Stalinist, non-communist marxists and radicals like Paul Sweezy, Paul Baran, Herbert Marcuse, E.P. Thompson and C. Wright Mills. These "neo-marxists" emphasized the young Marx's theory of alienation and freedom; they rejected the Soviet model of socialism; they viewed the U.S. as having entered a new stage of capitalism different from that studied by Marx in the 19th century; they accorded to the family, the state and political parties a new importance; and they rejected simple-minded causal schemes linking the economic base with the cultural and political superstructure.

This generation of scholars is now coming up for tenure in many departments. "It is largely a cohort phenomenon," Fred Block, a sociology professor

at the University of Pennsylvania, who recently won his tenure battle, explained. "There are a whole lot of us at this age, and a disproportionate number are radical. We're up for tenure and the slots aren't there, and it's pretty normal that we'd be victimized."

Block got tenure last spring after his department had recommended him and a dean blocked his promotion. Vigorous outside protest over the denial of Block's tenure led the dean to convene an outside panel, chaired by Seymour Martin Lipset, which recommended that the university grant Block tenure. Block thinks his own success reflects the "legitimation of the left" within the discipline. "In sociology, the Lipsets are now saying, 'I don't care what you call these people—they are studying the core issues.'"

Immanuel Wallerstein, the chairman of the State University of New York at Binghamton sociology department, notes the same change within the profession. "The '60s weakened enormously the self-assurance of the establishment center of American social science," Wallerstein said. "In the '50s and '60s, what was establishment ideology was the discipline. I remember someone getting up and saying at a convention, 'that's not sociology, that's marxism.' Now departments feel the necessity of being pluralist."

History has been transformed even more dramatically than sociology. "The battle has been won in history," James Gilbert, a professor at the University of Maryland, said. "You cannot ignore any longer the kinds of things the marxists and social historians have found."

But the other disciplines have been slower to open up. There are now several marxist economics departments in the U.S. The department at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, was itself an outgrowth of a tenure fight. When Samuel Bowles was denied tenure at Harvard, he and four other marxist economists joined the University of Massachusetts department. But Herbert Gintis, co-author with Bowles of *Schooling in Capitalist America*, and a colleague at the University of Massachusetts, says that the change in the profession has been only partial.

"People don't scream and yell any more about radicals," Gintis said, "but the profession is absolutely closed about publishing. And unless radicals are teaching a course, there is no dialogue."

## Academic purgatory.

Skocpol, Brenner and Watkins, as well as some other embattled junior faculty like University of California economist Michael Reich, will not see their careers ended if they fail to win tenure at one institution. But the prospect of having to fight for one's livelihood has robbed the academic life of its bucolic simplicity. Annette Kolodny tells of being on a panel at the Modern Language Association with four other women who had been involved in tenure battles and had filed discrimination suits. "Every woman on that panel had had severe emotional and physical problems after filing their suit," she said.

Many young faculty members who fail to get tenure fall into a kind of academic purgatory. Carl Boggs, the author of *Gramsci's Marxism* and a former editor of *Socialist Review*, was denied tenure at Washington University in St. Louis' political science department in 1976. The case was suspiciously political, with the chairman of the university's board of trustees coming out publicly against Boggs. Boggs subsequently found that he was too old and too well-known to be hired as a junior professor, but no department was willing to open up a new tenure position for him. Like other academics, he has had to go from one one-year appointment to another. "You never know where you are going to be next," Boggs said. "I've moved six times in the last six years. It's difficult to get any scholarly work done."

For every Theda Skocpol, there are probably three or four Carl Boggses. They are not so much simple victims of political discrimination as of the combination of discrimination, retrenchment and the decline of the liberal arts curriculum.

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## POLITICS

# California activists reassess strategy

By Gina Lobaco

LOS ANGELES

IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN DUBBED A "Rad Confab" if the L.A. press had carried a story on the weekend conference of the "California Project" at UCLA. More than 300 seasoned political veterans from across the left/liberal spectrum attended three days of speeches and discussions Sept. 11 to 13 in the hope of redefining a political "vision" in the wake of the nation's shift toward reaction.

Cosponsored by the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies and the Foundation for National Progress, the California Project is the brainchild of Loni Hancock, a two-term Berkeley city council member and a regional director of ACTION under the Carter administration. "Ten years ago, I was sure of the issues and what we had to do. But after Reagan's election, I knew I had a lot of rethinking ahead of me. For example, we couldn't just keep on replying mechanically 'more government' to the cry for less government," she said.

Hancock formed the project in early March as a "convening mechanism" that would bring together a network of activists to share ideas about developing a strategy for responding to changed national circumstances.

With seed money from various small foundations, Hancock assembled a 43-member organizing committee that represented a balance of Northern and Southern Californians, men and women, ethnic minorities, academics and activists, trade unionists and elected officials. In late July, about 1,000 invitations went out to individuals identified as "leaders" by organizing committee members.

They got a strong turnout. Numerous liberal/leftist luminaries from California and elsewhere were in attendance—both as participants and speakers. They included: Rep. Ron Dellums, San Francisco Supervisor Harry Britt, Tom Hayden, Santa Monica Mayor Ruth Yanatta Goldway, Assemblyman Tom Bates and Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport to name but a very few.

A wide cross-section of interests was represented: ADA, Common Cause, Tax Reform Association, Friends of the Earth, New American Movement, Democratic Party, Alliance for Survival, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, Campaign for Human Development, Service Employees International Union, ACLU, Sierra Club, California Democratic Council, Environmental Defense Fund, the Older Women's League and many more.

The atmosphere was convivial, and a noticeable lack of elitism and general elbow-rubbing characterized the three days. But for many a good time was not necessarily time well-spent. Though the conference was efficiently run, it failed to produce the sort of results many participants had expected.

Hancock herself didn't expect the conference to yield a concrete strategy or program. Her view is that activists need time to exchange views and reflect together on what lies ahead. She envisions a series of "people's Bohemian Groves," an idea inspired by the Northern California retreat of America's corporate elite.

Nevertheless, the conference's structure did lead some to believe it would be more than a *schmoosfest*.

Friday night's kickoff banquet analyzed "where we are." Economist Richard Parker analyzed the United States' economic condition, and then proposed that the only reasonable solution was to use the "S" word—that is, socialism—which received a surprisingly strong endorsement from the politically diverse

audience. Ron Dellums followed with an energetic exhortation for those assembled to be prepared with a program when Reaganomics falls apart. "It's our turn next at bat, so we'd better be ready," he cautioned.

Saturday's agenda asked "Where do we want to go?" and "How do we get there?" People met in smaller groups to plot a course for the future. But with such a diversity of priorities, little was resolved beyond broad generalities. The afternoon was spent in strategy sessions on various topics: coalitions, a left research network, electoral campaigns, Democratic party politics, media and the politics of everyday life. Workshop participants were distinguished by both the breadth and depth of their expertise, experience and commitment—factors that in this case impeded rather than aided decision-making. With so many articulate and vociferous folks vying to express an opinion or "vision"—the catchword

Though project organizers didn't expect it to yield a concrete strategy, the structure did lead some to expect more than a *schmoosfest*.

for the conference—time was short for genuine planning.

One workshop in particular provoked controversy. Facilitators Michael Lerner of the Institute for Labor and Mental Health and Laurie Zoloth of Friends of the Family kicked off the session on the politics of everyday life by advancing their own work, which attempts to reclaim "family" from the exclusive domain of the right. In a "Family Support

Initiative," which they hope to place on the California ballot, they advocate several measures to strengthen families, among them a 35-hour work week, employee safety and health committees, child care, local family support networks, cooperative housing and family counseling. The program has elicited criticism from some feminists who say its lack of a reproductive rights element betrays an anti-feminist bias. While Lerner did eventually concede the point, some participants remained unsatisfied about his selection as moderator and felt there was a general neglect of feminist concerns in the conference.

Two strategy groups did plan future activities: The media workshop will hold biweekly meetings in northern and southern California and the research network will keep interested parties informed through a newsletter.

Sunday's sessions looked at immediate issues facing the state and nation: taxes, block grants, immigration, housing, water policy, civil liberties, labor issues, crime and militarism, reproductive rights and food and agriculture. The sessions were reminiscent of the joke about how many leftists it takes to go fishing. The answer: 100; one to hold the pole and 99 to find the correct line.

In plenary sessions on both days, those assembled were often exhorted not to apologize for their politics or castigate themselves for their failures. The conference's themes were played out repeatedly in endless variation: human needs as the measure of social policy, empowerment of people, integrity of individual rights, stewardship of natural resources. A mind-boggling array of issues was banded about as potential concerns—split-roll taxes, ballot drives, demilitarization, coalition building, bilingual education and so on.

Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport, an organizing committee member, felt the project could be a useful "source of networking information. It won't be a movement, but will be part of a strategy to assist people in government and local community organizations."

That similar enterprises are under way in Minnesota, Washington, Montana, Oregon and Illinois indicates that the need to retrench and re-evaluate is felt by leftists nationwide. Nonetheless, the California Project's future is uncertain. Funds are almost exhausted and though the response was generally encouraging, it was designed as only a very first step in the long march toward a new agenda for the left.

In discussing the Project's future, a suggestion was made that an established political organization adopt it. DSOC was mentioned because of its members



Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport served on the organizing committee.

among the project's convenors and sponsors. But Hancock, a DSOC member herself, thought it unlikely because she sees the project's value in its independence and its ability to attract diverse groups.

It is a small irony that a project that attempts to reconstitute a broad vision for the left is nearsighted when it comes to its own future. Despite its shortcomings, the California Project offers many possibilities to rejuvenate a tired and marginalized movement.

Gina Lobaco belongs to NAM and DSOC and writes from Los Angeles. For more information, contact the California Project at 625 Third St., San Francisco, CA 94107, (415)495-6326.

## DIABLO CANYON

# One if by land, two if by sea

By G. Pascal Zachary

SAN LUIS OBISPO, CA.

MORE THAN 700 NUCLEAR power opponents were arrested last week during the initial phase of the long-awaited blockade of the Diablo Canyon nuclear plant in San Luis Obispo.

Nearly 300 town and state law officials were joined by 500 national guardsmen in making the arrests, which have so far been carried out without violence.

The protest action, which was organized by the Abalone Alliance to disrupt the expected start-up of Pacific Gas & Electric's controversial facility, began Sept. 15 after the estimated 2,000 blockade supporters had met for five days at a makeshift camp 10 miles north of the plant.

The first confrontation occurred when some 60 blockaders scaled a 10-foot fence at the plant's main gate and then sat down in a large circle. Meanwhile hundreds of other blockaders entered the plant at four other entrances. Two dozen blockaders, including actor Robert

Blake, also entered the plant by sea on 11 rubber rafts. They were arrested immediately. The sea blockade did not come off as planned, because of Coast Guard actions that prevented Abalone Alliance vessels from getting near the shore.

Despite the arrests and the lower-than-expected turnout, Abalone organizers say the action was a success. "We accomplished what we wanted to," said Marc Levanoff, a member of the organization's informal steering committee. "The blockade went off without a hitch and it looks possible that we will be able to keep on blockading for days, perhaps even weeks. If the interest level is maintained we expect to send in waves of blockaders day after day."

PG&E says that the protest will not slow its effort to start testing one of the plant's two reactors. The only obstacle that remains, the utility said, is Nuclear Regulatory Commission approval, which is expected on Sept. 21. Nevertheless, prior to enduring the blockade the utility housed at least 60 workers in the plant and beefed up its internal security.

The blockaders prevented more than 700 workers from entering the plant for several hours Wednesday after police

left the main gate to the facility unguarded. About 30 blockaders positioned themselves in front of Greyhound buses bringing in morning-shift construction workers who are doing finishing-up work on the \$2.3 billion plant. Violence broke out for the first time when police came in to shove them off the road, jabbing protesters with clubs.

"Even if we don't stop Diablo, we still will have accomplished a major goal," Scott Kennedy, an Abalone founder, said. "We're involved in a social experiment here and that's something that's been lost in all the talk about this being a showdown between us and the nuclear power industry."

"The blockade isn't a one-time expression of our opposition to Diablo or our way of pointing the finger at the 'enemy.' What we're doing here is broader than that. We are learning how to organize politically and socially against things we object to. That is something we won't just reminisce about. It is a lesson we'll put to use in our own communities."

G. Pascal Zachary is a staff reporter with the Santa Barbara News & Review.



# IN THE WORLD

## FRANCE



# Larzac—the stuff of leftists' dreams

By Diana Johnstone

LARZAC, FRANCE

**L**ARZAC IS THE PARADOXICAL, victorious symbol of a kind of land-based people's struggle that flared worldwide in the '70s, though rarely with such a happy ending. Larzac is a rocky plateau of some 257,000 acres about 50 miles inland from the Mediterranean in southern France. For the last 10 years, a hundred Larzac sheep farmers managed to hold off French army plans to enlarge the local military base at the expense of their grazing land. By such gestures as grazing sheep under the Eiffel Tower, the Larzac peasants attracted national and even international media attention. Far more important, they attracted durably committed supporters to their cause by consciously embodying a peaceful, ecological and aesthetic way of life, renewing and renewable, that seemed the perfect antithesis of the menacing, wasteful and ugly militarism they were resisting.

Last June 3, newly-elected Socialist President Francois Mitterrand kept an old promise by halting extension of the Larzac camp. To celebrate their victory, the Larzac peasants invited friends from all over the world to a week-long international peace meeting late last August. There were Indians from Guatemala and Peru, Sandinistas and Sinn Fein, Austrian mountaineers, Polisario and Afghan freedom fighters. Lawyer Klaus Croissant gave the French people present their first earful of the West German opposition to nuclear arms, and Winona Laduke of the American Indian Movement told about destruction of the environment in the United States. The French hosts were particularly awed by their 17 Japanese guests from Sanrizuka village, who have been carrying on a truly epic battle against the extension of Tokyo's international Narita airport for 15 years. Polish rural Solidarity was invited but couldn't get visas.

Next to many of their guests, Larzac people felt humble at the gentleness of their own fight and the ease of their victory. Back in 1974, Mitterrand got a very mixed reception when he turned up at a Larzac harvest festival. The farmers

welcomed him, but many in the support movement distrusted parties and politicians. And many today find it ironic and even a bit uncomfortable to see their anti-authoritarian movement have its victory handed down from above by a presidential decision. Of course, that was the only way to win what was immediately winnable, but a struggle like Larzac is borne along by an array of more or less utopian aspirations that get left out of a real, practical success. Larzac farmers themselves feel this most keenly and do not want to abandon the ideals that transcend their personal fight to keep their land.

Like her neighbors, Marysette Tarlier feels almost let down. She says she would hate to see Larzac reduced to a matter of farming. "We have to stay alert to what also motivated our fight—that is, the struggle against the arms race and the militarization of the world."

Thus for a week in August Larzac became a sort of Noah's Ark, carrying the survivors of diverse movements into a new decade, warning against catastrophe. The plateau is one of those magic places that inspire people with the feeling that special things should happen here. A bog of pig farmers or a sugar beet plain could not have aroused the same love and devotion as this ethereal plateau, where shepherds pour their rippling herds across the slopes of craggy hills to the sound of a thousand tinkling bells. France's thoroughly urbanized nature-lovers, from Marie Antoinette to post-May '68 ecologists, have always fancied sheep raising over other forms of agriculture. Larzac is a sort of collective dream come true.

### Kid gloves and contradictions.

Larzac is the largest of four plateaus (called *causses*) that surged from the bottom of the sea in the Tertiary period under pressure from surrounding mountains. Seas and rains have hollowed and sculpted the porous limestone, leaving caverns and fantastic rock formations and a light soil that is arable only in places but provides a healthy diet of grass and wildflowers for the sheep whose passage keeps it fertile.

And they aren't just any old sheep. For millennia, the Larzac ewes have been the main providers of milk for one of France's noblest cheeses, collected from

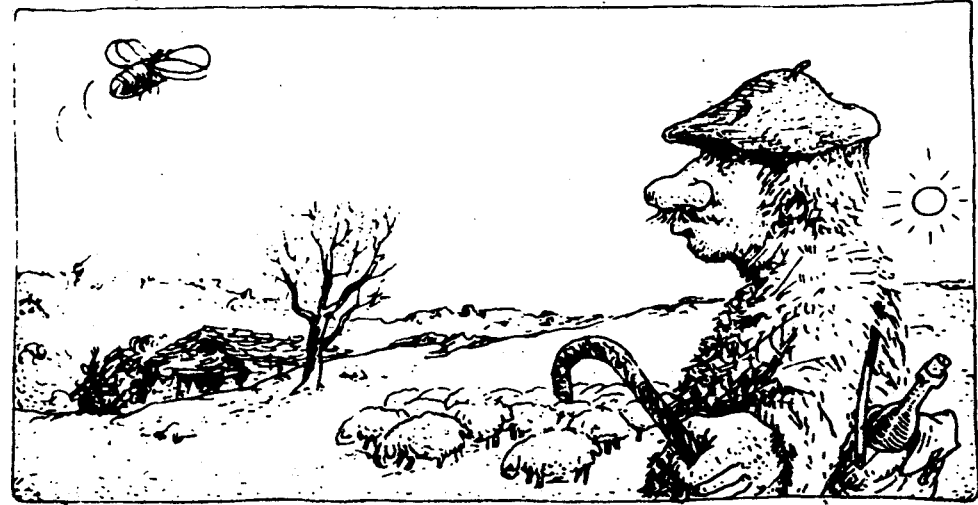
within a legally fixed radius and aged only in the naturally ventilated caves of the town of Roquefort, in one of the steep river gorges that delineate the *causse*. The extension of the army camp would thus have threatened to alter the quality or quantity of the cheese that delighted Charlemagne, once he overcame his initial repulsion at its distinctive blue mould.

To complete this elegant cycle, the hide of Larzac lambs (slaughtered young to save the ewes' milk for Roquefort cheese) has long provided the raw material for the leather industry of the nearby town of Millau, France's glove capital since the Middle Ages.

When the Larzac battle was at its height in the early '70s, militant caricature portrayed this idyllic rural economy pitted against a fascistic military machine intent on turning the last acre of peaceful farmland into a bloody and barren battlefield. This picture is not exactly untrue, but the shadings and contradictions it leaves out are what make the Larzac story most interesting—and perhaps most exemplary.

The first paradox obscured by the populist myth is that the defense of this beautifully archaic agriculture on this ancient plateau was instigated not by the most traditional families, natives of Larzac, but by newcomers who had recently introduced more productive modern methods, notably milking machines, and didn't want to give up their flourishing new businesses. It was one of the most prosperous new Larzac farmers, Guy Tarlier, formerly a soldier himself as well as a coffee planter in Central Africa, who was first to react when plans to extend the camp were revealed in late 1970. Tarlier's own experience with military snafus encouraged him to think the army didn't know what it was doing and could be persuaded into reversing its decision. He had

*Cartoons took a black-and-white view of an idyllic rural economy battling the military machine.*



been around and was not overly impressed by authority. Without the leadership of such newcomers, many of the oldtimers would have sold out without a fight. Indeed, only a few years ago, several of them had petitioned the army to buy their land, in despair of being able to scratch a living out of it. It was the modernizing brought in by the newcomers that made Larzac agriculture economically viable again.

The more deeply rooted, less prosperous families might never have got involved without the strange intervention of young, city Maoists in 1971. The unorthodox French Maoists (*"les Maos"*) of *la Gauche Proletarienne* were at that time looking for oppressed third world peoples in their own countryside to surround their cities in one great worldwide guerrilla movement. As intellectuals, they combined this search with self-criticizing re-education among the peasantry, cultural-revolution style—which to the peasants in question looked awfully like city people on vacation. Anyway, when the *Maos* learned that real live French peasants on the Larzac plateau were opposing the forces of imperialism, they of course rushed to the scene with their "mass line" to help stir the flames of popular revolution. They joined hundreds of young ecologists, pacifists, anarchists and assorted quarreling *gauchistes* mostly from France's "red city," Toulouse, in a May 1971 march to the plateau to "support protesting farmers on their tractors." Only no farmers showed up.

The *Maos* thereupon demonstrated their real political seriousness by undertaking a modest and methodical survey of Larzac farmers to find out why they had not joined the demonstration on their behalf. By giving special attention to the poorer peasant, they found out some very interesting things that the more prosperous modernizers hadn't realized. They found out, for instance, that many of the poorer farmers were against enlarging the military camp but stayed out of the pro-



rest simply because they figured that all such quarrels were "between the rich," who would end up making some deal, whereas the poor always came out on the losing end. Many figured that the better-off farmers were just trying to raise the bidding, to get a better price from the government for their land before leaving their more humble allies in the lurch.

By externalizing this ancient defeatism of the poor, the *Maos* did actually contribute to the revolutionary step of overcoming it. It became clear that mere economic self-interest, mere rational arguments over acres of forage and quarts of milk, was not enough to bring traditionally suspicious peasants and "ranchers" together in action. Only shared ideals could do that.

### Christian soldiers.

The Larzac peasants never came close to guerrilla warfare. The few anonymous

post of militant Catholicism against the surrounding heretics. Aveyron department, which includes Larzac, has long been the most Catholic, and the most conservative, in all of southern France.

Progressive Catholicism put its mark on Larzac just as it put its mark on the other major popular struggle of the '70s in France, the struggle for worker control of the bankrupt Lip watch factory in Besancon. Both echoed the Catholic left's insistence on the dignity of work and the value of community. Larzac showed the influence of Church-backed rural youth organizations that have promoted modernization and cooperation in an effort to stem the massive exodus from the land.

The philosophy that united the Larzac farmers and their supporters was expressed early on by Jean-Marie Cassan, a Larzac peasant and life-long socialist, in a 1971 leaflet:

NATO maneuvers, a step toward full reintegration of France into NATO; it was for practicing tactical nuclear warfare; it was being enlarged so as to store nuclear weapons in the many underground caverns (called *avens*), or else the *avens* were to be filled with petroleum, polluting the regional water supply; no, the camp was to be a gigantic concentration camp for leftists, like the stadiums in Chile.

Had the army indeed extended the camp, who knows, it might have ended up serving one or more of these purposes. But the motives for deciding to extend it, and then obstinately refusing to retract, turn out to be much more absurdly banal.

In 1970, Millau's right-wing deputy to the national assembly, Louis-Alexis Delmas, was desperate to do something for his disgruntled constituents before the next elections. The region was dying

ean rebellion. Authority is at stake. Larzac became a *cause celebre* in part for the same reason the Dreyfus case became a *cause celebre*: the military cannot, must not, ever publicly admit it has made a mistake.

So the conflict dragged on for a decade. Thanks to Debre on the one side and lots of people on the other, it became an authentic context between militaristic authoritarianism and the people's right to choose their own peaceful and productive way of life.

In 1972, at the climax of a protest fast with Lanza del Vasto and local bishops, 103 Larzac farmers publicly vowed to "reject any attempts at seduction or intimidation or purchase offer on the part of the army." The rest of the movement could then organize in defense of "the 103." Over the years, some of the 103 in fact weakened and sold out, but the movement went on. Also in 1972, Larzac herds invaded the war college lawns under the Eiffel Tower, achieving a media breakthrough. Even more extraordinary, Leon Burguiere and other Larzac farmers organized support for striking women textile workers in Millau. The joys of solidarity had been discovered.

Larzac farmers firmly took the course of nonviolent illegal action in 1973, by starting the collective reconstruction of a fine new sheepfold on land earmarked for requisition by the army in La Blaquiere hamlet. It took volunteers a year to build the traditional stone arched construction. The farmers set up the first "agricultural land grouping," or GPA, a legal entity to buy up land from those owners who preferred to sell, in order to keep the government from buying. The GPA particularly went after lots in the middle of the proposed camp extension to block it. In August of that big year, some 80,000 people gathered on the plateau to share experiences of worker, peasant and national minority movements. Larzac farmers told Lip workers that "we are waging the same combat for justice, for workers' control over their lives."

Meanwhile, the pro-camp faction led by La Cavalerie cafe, restaurant and bar owners, distributed such tracts as this one:

"Hippies paid by certain Roquefort companies are corrupting our region.

"NO to the red flag flying over our villages!

"NO to free love in cemeteries and churches!

"Get the idlers out of Larzac!

"Get your drugs and filth out of here!"

This moralism provided a lot of laughs, especially since one of the subsidiary industries the pro-camp patriots were trying to preserve from shepherds, idlers and free lovers was the brothel trade.

In August 1974, some 100,000 people showed up for a Harvest Festival on the theme: food gives life, weapons give death.

### The last regional straw.

In 1975, the Larzac committees started up a monthly newsletter that soon had 4,000 subscribers. The newspaper's title, *Gardarem lo Larzac*, meaning "We'll keep Larzac" in the Occitan language, stressed an essential dimension of the Larzac struggle: the regional movement. In the last 20 years, the accelerated centralization of the French economy around service industries in the major urban areas, with a corresponding drastic decline in regional productive sectors—first agriculture and then industry—has given impetus to regional autonomy movements, especially in those parts of France that once spoke a different language and thus can bolster economic complaints with cultural grievances. The most notable movements have been in Brittany, Corsica and the more vaguely defined Occitan region, the vast southwest of France where people said "oc" for "yes" until Paris forced them to say "oui."

The Occitan movement thus rapidly grew from a small intellectual effort to revive Occitan language and literature to a broader demand for the "right to live

*Continued on page 22*



Riot police were called out in the early '70s, when Larzac protests drew thousands of demonstrators to the area.

## Urban activists flocked to the farmers' cause.

exemplary acts of violence against military property, apparently committed by outside revolutionaries to egg them on, horrified them. The farmers denounced all such "provocation," and, as if for protection, rushed into the arms of the nearby prophet of non-violence, patriarch Lanza del Vasto, who lived downhill towards Montpellier in his commune. The Maoist influence in fact helped strike a quite different but more responsive chord: Christianity.

That is a paradox in more ways than one. Southern France, and especially southwestern France, has been largely de-Christianized, first by the violent suppression of the Albigensian heresy in the Middle Ages and then by the suppression of Protestantism. But through all the religious conflicts, the Larzac plateau, with its stone fortress towers built by the medieval Knights Templar, remained an out-

"What is the use of the military camp? Is it good for the people of our region? France? The world? To freeze still more land to give still more room to guns? We say no to the Army. You have to have sunk really low to solve economic problems by building death machines!

"...What is a man worth? Men, women and children of Larzac, we draw our resources from the products of the earth. We know the need to reckon with time, the seasons, labor. We know you can't make wheat grow by pulling at the stems. We know how to wait, but we don't easily let our heads get stuffed with empty words.... Some say, 'those farmers have nothing to complain about, they'll be well paid'... How much is a man worth? A man is not for sale."

As it turns out, Cassan had got the point, including the real point about the army's motivations, which was missed by successive waves of outside intellectuals trying to figure out the sinister motives behind the defense ministry's stubborn refusal to retract its decision. The camp was used for maneuvers. But because no official motive for the camp's enlargement was ever provided, the left was encouraged in its most paranoid fantasies: the enlarged camp was for

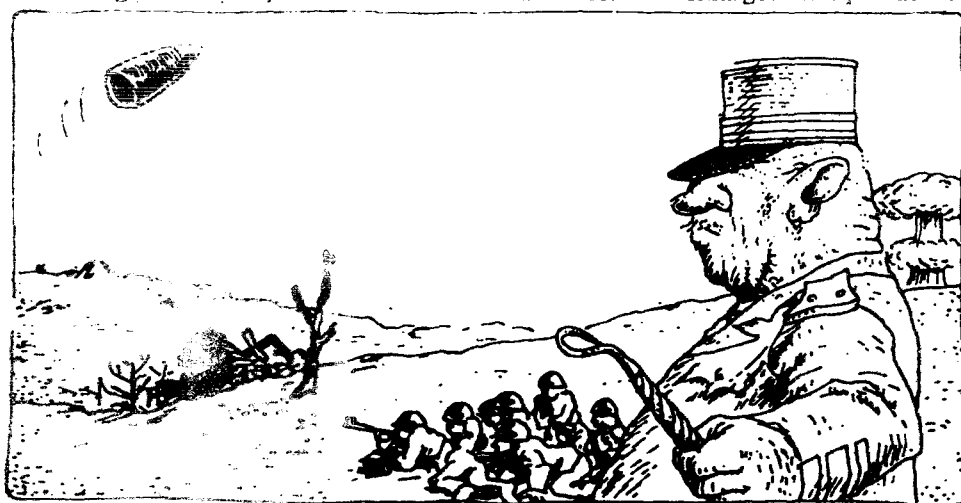
economically, one factory after another had shut down, the population was moving out. Even long-prosperous Millau was going under, as the shift to more casual fashions knocked the fine glove industry into a slump that has proved nearly fatal. Attempts to attract new industry had failed.

Then somebody told him that only a few years ago, several Larzac peasants had asked the army to buy up their land adjacent to the existing camp. Eureka! a popular vote-getting idea. There had been an army camp next to the old Templar town of la Cavalerie in the middle of the Larzac plateau ever since the beginning of the century, and relations between the soldiers and the local folk were fine. An extension of the camp would please everyone. The peasants would get compensation, the construction industry would boom. The bistro owners would be in seventh heaven. Driving across the northern part of the Larzac plateau, Delmas could see that it was a desert, or as close to a desert as one can find in France. What a perfect idea! Delmas had no trouble getting former Gaullist premier and defense minister Michel Debre to decree the camp's extension.

### Never back down.

Delmas turned out to be drastically misinformed. The bistro owners of La Cavalerie were indeed delighted, but the farmers did not want their land requisitioned and in general had begun to grow hostile to the camp as the army grew more mechanized. Tanks tore up the fragile soil and helicopters frightened the pregnant sheep into aborting. Strong opposition to the camp also came from the influential Roquefort cheese industry.

Debre's political philosophy is that "a nation in which a large number of people discussed politics every day would be close to ruin." He is not a man to back down, especially not in the face of pleb-





# Blacks

Continued from page 5

107 black colleges were established before 1910. Generally under-financed and inadequately staffed, black higher education was permitted to exist only in skeletal form during the long night of White Supremacy. As late as 1946, only four black colleges—Howard University, Fisk University, Taladega College and North Carolina State—were accredited by the Association of American Universities. In the school year 1945-46, black college undergraduate enrollment was 43,878. Fewer than 1,800 attended black professional schools; only 116 were training to become lawyers.

Even after the passage of educational aid legislation, the number of black Americans able to attend universities was pitifully small. By 1950, 41,000 "minority" men and 42,000 "minority" women

(blacks, Asian, etc.) ages 18 to 24 attended colleges, about 4.5 percent of their total age grouping. That same year, 1,025,000 white males 18 to 24 years old attended college, 15 percent of the total white age group.

The civil rights and Black Power movements, combined with a new political commitment under the Johnson administration to implement affirmative action guidelines, transformed black education. By 1970, 192,000 black men and 225,000 black women ages 18 to 24 attended college. The overall percentage of black youth enrolled in college, 15.5 percent, contrasted with the white attendance figures of 34 percent for males and 21 percent for females. Five years later, 20 percent of black men and 21 percent of black women between 18 and 24 were in college. The most recent available statistics, for the years 1976 and 1977, reveal a slight decline in black college enrollment, with the number of black college youth slipping from 749,000 to 721,000, and the percentage of black men 18 to 24 in college declining from 22.0 to 20.2 percent.

ing from 22.0 to 20.2 percent.

Despite the desegregation of white universities, traditionally black institutions have continued to serve a majority of blacks seeking college or professional training. Twenty-five percent of all blacks in higher education attend the 35 state-supported black colleges. Sixty percent of black students attended all-black colleges. Sixty-two percent of black M.D.s and 73 percent of black Ph.D.s are products of these institutions.

## Good news, bad news.

Desegregation proved to be both a blessing and a curse. It created the conditions for a virtual revolution in black educational opportunities. Simultaneously, the liberalization of white educational institutions permitted many of the best black intellectuals to leave the South for more prestigious posts at universities elsewhere. The generation of black professionals trained at Howard and Fisk in the '40s sent their children to Harvard and Berkeley. The Black Power explosion on white campuses from the mid-'60s to

early '70s accelerated the crisis as the most militant black scholars left traditionally black institutions to work in Afro-American studies departments on white campuses.

With the rapid growth of state-supported two-year colleges and vocational schools in the '60s and '70s, private black institutions found themselves in severe financial straits. By 1978 41.8 percent of all blacks were enrolled in two-year degree programs, compared to 34 percent for whites. The number of white students on black campuses jumped sharply. By 1981 white enrollment at the engineering school of previously all-black North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University in Greensboro reached 40 percent. First-generation college students from low-to-middle income black families could not afford to pay higher tuitions at private black colleges. Private foundations cut back sharply in their donations to black schools after the recession of 1973-74. By the late '70s, the traditionally black colleges were facing mounting costs without sufficient support from the black community.

The recent North Carolina agreement must be judged from this perspective. The state acquired a reputation as the most liberal throughout the South in its policies on black public education. The first black colleges in North Carolina were started immediately after the Civil War. The number of schools expanded rapidly with the emergence of Jim Crow laws. Today, there are more black colleges in North Carolina with substantial state support than in any other state. But even Southern liberals justified state support for black higher education as a defense of white supremacy.

Caught in a seeming dilemma, black educators have opted for the lesser of two evils. An acceleration of desegregation would in their view simply transform traditionally black colleges into white institutions. The North Carolina agreement promises to halt the growing numbers of white faculty, administrators and students on black campuses, while providing millions of dollars for sorely-needed physical plant expansion and research. Like Booker T. Washington, these college administrators also sense that the national mood has become profoundly conservative on racial matters. When the House of Representatives voted 265 to 122 on June 9 to prohibit the Justice Department from pursuing court cases that would lead to the busing of school children to promote desegregation, for example, it had a direct impact on black higher education officials' willingness to conciliate Reagan.

But the first real effects of the North Carolina agreement were a shock to black educators. On Aug. 24 and 25, some 90 instructors and assistant professors at North Carolina Central University were ordered to complete their doctoral degrees by Nov. 30. Failure to do so, under the terms of the consent decree, means that junior faculty members' contracts "would not be renewed and that they would not be considered for reappointment." As history professor Sylvia M. Jacobs complained, "Under this policy, in the next two years, we could have a predominantly white faculty" at North Carolina Central.

The only possibility of saving the traditionally black institutions without another "Atlanta Compromise" would be rejection of both the liberal integrationist approach and the neo-segregationist North Carolina agreement. That would require white higher education systems to accept strict quotas in hiring black faculty and administrators, and to eliminate duplicate programs offered at various schools. At the same time, black public institutions would not integrate faculty and student bodies at a rate faster than white state universities. Black private colleges must remain black, to fulfill their historic mandate of providing education to black people. But the prospects for the destruction of the remaining black universities and with it a drop in the number of blacks admitted to colleges are now real.

**Manning Marable is professor of political economy at the Africana Study Center at Cornell University and an active member of the National Black Independent Political Party.**

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By A. Lin Neumann

VIEQUES, PUERTO RICO

**A**ERICAN HOSTAGES HAVE been seized on a hostile island nation allied with one of America's principal international adversaries. They are being held in a secret location on the island, guarded by "heavily armed and fanatical terrorists."

Several days of tense negotiations have led to the release of 36 of the original 56 captives. But negotiations have now broken down, and the lives of the remaining Americans are felt to be in jeopardy.

The U.S. has decided it must act to protect friendly nations in the region, to guarantee the safety of its citizens abroad and to keep the Caribbean sea lanes open, lest hostile forces choke the life out of the free world by interdicting oil supplies bound for Gulf port refineries.

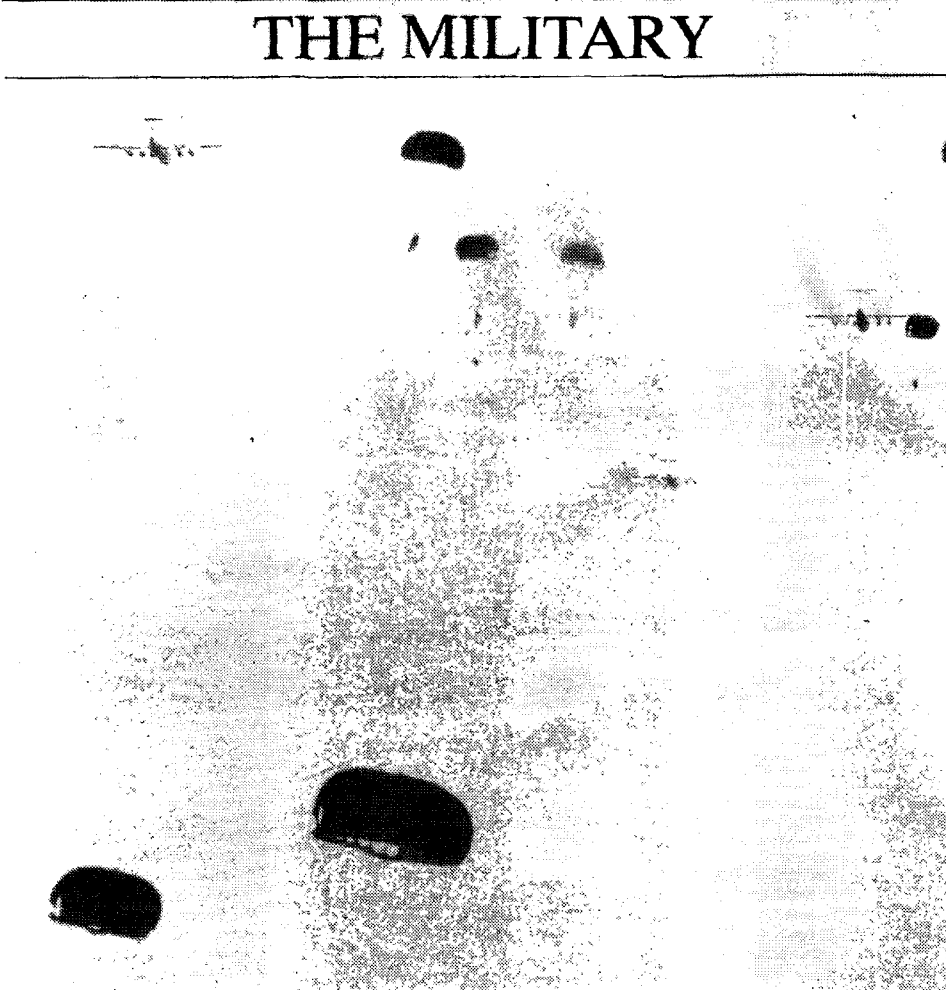
To rescue the hostages—and so demonstrate U.S. commitment and resolve in the Caribbean region—President Reagan orders an invasion of Country Azure.

At 3:00 a.m. on Aug. 9, a weary group of reporters gathered at the front gate of the largest American naval facility in the world, Roosevelt Roads in Puerto Rico. We were there at the invitation of the U.S. Navy to witness the beginning of Phase II of Ocean Venture '81, the biggest joint allied military maneuvers since World War II, according to our briefing officer.

Ocean Venture '81 is taking place from Aug. 1 to Oct. 15. It involves 120,000 personnel, 250 ships and 1,000 aircraft from 16 countries. Through a variety of scenarios a worldwide conflagration and confrontation with the Soviet Union is simulated. It began in the South Atlantic, moved through the Caribbean and then steamed up the Atlantic Coast. It is scheduled to terminate, despite Russian protests, in the Baltic Sea. The Caribbean phase, which ended in the Florida Keys Aug. 20, incorporated all branches of the U.S. military, the Puerto Rican National Guard and Royal Dutch and British naval forces.

In the words of a Navy press release, "The exercise is designed to demonstrate and improve the capability of the United States and Western maritime forces to protect and maintain free use of sea lines of communication."

Phase II of the exercise was directed by the Caribbean Contingency Joint Task Force (CCJTF), set up by the Car-



## The U.S. Army's Fantasy Island

Country Azure, a small island nation, has fallen under the influence of Country Amber, a hostile nation allied with Country Red. When asked if country Amber was intended to symbolize Cuba, Lt. Commander Michael Neuhart, a briefing officer for the exercise, said, "You can draw any conclusion you wish." Azure bears an uncanny resemblance to Grenada and Red, of course, is the Soviet Union. The United States is Country Blue.

In the scenario, terrorists on Azure, supported by Amber, have seized an American facility and its civilian personnel. On Day Five of the Azure hostage crisis an elite Green Beret force is sent to the island. They locate the captives and radio the location to Blue forces. At about the same time, paratroopers of the 75th Ranger Battalion, an Army strike force, are loaded into planes at Norton

What happens to the government of Azure once the hostages have been released and the island secured? "The paratroopers are to hold the island and support the amphibious assault scheduled for tomorrow," said McKenzie. Then the government would be overthrown and "we would more than likely install a government more favorable to the way of life we espouse," he asserted.

Lt. Commander Neuhart, apparently aware of the reporters clustered around Rear Admiral McKenzie, added, "Now, we would at least let the people decide. We would not stay where we are not wanted."

Another tricky question posed by the assault was the fate of the hostages themselves. Surely 400 paratroopers dropped on a tiny island would lose the element of surprise. Suppose they are noticed and the hostage-takers decide to kill the hostages? "Then we go in with guns blazing," said Major Harold Clark, a Ranger commander. "We are prepared to sacrifice the hostages."

### The unhappy accomplice.

Others are also looking for things to happen, but with a great deal more apprehension. Enaida Vazquez, president of the Puerto Rican Committee for International Solidarity, the group that led the Puerto Rican delegation to the UN Decolonization Committee this year, said that pro-independence forces in Puerto Rico would denounce the naval maneuvers before the UN this year. She believes that the maneuvers presage an eventual invasion of Cuba. (*Independentistas* in Puerto Rico well remember the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic that was staged from U.S. bases on the island.)

The maneuvers also highlighted the more or less permanent invasion of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, which assumed the role of Country Azure in the Navy's "sea of colors."

Out of a total of 33,000 acres on the island, the Navy occupies 26,000, leaving a narrow strip in the middle for the island's 8,000 residents. Since 1946 the Navy has used the eastern end of Vieques

Continued on page 22



Simulated invasions (above), some of which involve live fire, have been actively protested by the residents of Vieques.

ter administration in 1979 and given renewed importance under President Reagan, as the Caribbean has become a focus of American concerns about Soviet and Cuban influence. For the CCJTF this is the "first major show of force," according to Rear Admiral Robert McKenzie, Task Force commander.

The hostage scenario for the Caribbean phase was designed to allow the Navy and other U.S. forces to practice what is known as a "small island contingency." Planning for the operation began a year and a half ago but Navy officials denied that the scenario was determined by U.S. reaction to the Iranian hostage crisis.

Air Force Base in California for an all-night flight to the Caribbean. Their mission is to drop onto Azure, release the hostages and unite with an amphibious assault by 1,000 marines.

The logistics of the troop drop went splendidly. At 6:25 a.m., the roar of jet engines was heard in the distance and the Rangers began dropping from the sky. By the time the approximately 400 Rangers spread out to establish their perimeter, the officers pronounced themselves well pleased with this phase.

There were a few loose ends in the operation, however, that might lead more skeptical observers to question the use of such a "contingency."

## CUBA

## Have mosquitoes been drafted in a secret war?

By Ellen Bull

OAKLAND, CA

**I**N SPANISH IT'S CALLED *EL DENGUE*—a tropical disease that strikes suddenly and causes fever, prostration and internal bleeding into bones and joints. It's source is a virus transmitted from person to person by infected mosquitoes.

This year *El Dengue* hit Cuba with a vengeance. By mid-year, a new and deadly strain of the disease had struck nearly 300,000 people and killed 113, most of them children. The sudden outbreak was unexpected in a country that has waged a successful war against other mosquito-borne tropical diseases such as malaria.

In an internationally broadcast speech in late July Fidel Castro accused the U.S. of engaging in biological warfare, including but not limited to the current epidemic. A U.S. State Department spokesperson was quick to dismiss Cas-

tro's charges as ridiculous.

But this epidemic is only the latest in a series of devastating diseases that have played havoc with the Cuban economy over the years, attacking livestock and major export crops. The year 1980 came to be known in Cuba as the "Year of the Plagues," and the resulting economic dislocation is said to have been a major factor in the sudden emigration of more than 100,000 Cubans to the U.S. Even before the current outbreak, the Cubans have found the occurrence of so many diseases at the same time to be highly suspicious.

Though biological warfare (BW) is by nature hard to trace, facts have come to light from time to time about efforts on the part of the U.S. to develop and use BW agents against other nations.

In 1964, for example, the Cuban government reported that balloons carrying bacteriological agents were dropped in agricultural areas. In 1969 and 1970, a drought severely damaged the sugar cane

Continued on page 22



**F**ort Sheridan is a splendid place, in itself an argument for joining the Army. Lake Michigan sloshes up against the fort's wooded shore, brass cannons point out over the golf course, and a row of elegant black officers' houses is plopped



in the middle of a part. It's home to the people who sell the Army.

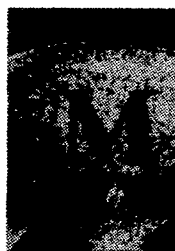
Which is not to say the business is without its problems. "The trouble is that hardly anyone wants to join the Army," Tom Evans said the other day. "I guess that sounds obvious," he said. Evans, a man with big, sad eyes, is deputy director of Army advertising.

Since 173,278 people did in fact join the Army last year, Evans isn't, strictly speaking, correct. For the first time since 1976 the Army filled its recruiting goal. After a disastrous year in 1979, when the Army came up 17,000 shy of its recruiting goals, the na-

tional command commissioned a market profile to find out what was going wrong. The data that returned was depressing. Except for the Marines, young men preferred to join any other branch of the military. They believed the Army to be a '40s-style, low tech operation, most suitable for the poor and illiterate. The people most inclined to sign up were also most likely to be young, unemployed, less educated and from a less educated family than people uninterested in the Army.

Then the Senate Armed Services committee held hearings late in 1979 to investigate reports that Army recruiters lied for their prospects and helped them cheat to enlist. Brigadier General Donald Connelly, the Army's investigator, told the senators that he found recruiters who coached prospects on vocabulary tests on their way to testing stations. He found tests hidden at recruiting offices behind false walls, above ceiling tiles and under false covers. By the time the investigation ended, 371 recruiters were booted out of their jobs. Connelly estimated that they had put 12,700 unqualified recruits in the Army since fall of 1977.

Though the market needed no further souring, by late 1979 the House Investigations Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services also finished up its work. Members concluded that the deaths of two recruits at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, were caused in part by overzealous drill sergeants, and in part because the recruits weren't physically qualified to join the Army in the first place. A liberal policy on granting waivers led to an Army manned in part by soldiers suffering ailments "ranging anywhere from a missing kneecap to a brain tumor."



#### Advertising strategies.

Major James Simmon is impossible to raise on the phone; his life, you feel, is made up of dashing off to one meeting only to be 25 minutes late for the next. He's one of those sorts who seems likely to have defined the debacle of 1979 as an *opportunity*. Early in 1980 he managed a series of studies and tests to find out what kind of ad campaign it would take to get more people into the Army. The goal was not only to put more people in uniform, but also to make sure that a greater percentage of them had high school degrees. The Army found that 43 percent of its male soldiers without high school degrees quit before the end of their first tour of duty. The attrition rate for high school graduate males was 24 percent.

A consulting firm, Canter, Achenbaum and Heekin tried dummy ads that stressed six different concepts: the high technology of Army equipment; that the Army is a good career development step; that the Army is "smarter than you think"; that the Army is a good break between high school and college; that it's a personal challenge; and, that enlisting is patriotic. People responded best to ads that stressed the Army's complicated equipment. The effect was universal among the target groups—blacks, whites and hispanics, males and females, all religions and education levels.

The results were funneled off to N.W. Ayers, the ad agency that's held the \$67 million Army account since 1967. The ad agency brought back four options; one was the Be All You Can Be campaign (Simmon has said these words so often that he now pronounces them like any other Army acronym—BLUNB), the remainder are said to be proprietary information.

To watch the resulting five television commercials back-to-back is a dizzying experience that makes you feel as though you need some exercise. An insistent tune—"this theme drives you crazy after a while," said Evans—throbs through each spot. Helicopters zoom through the sky, people jump out of airplanes, troops run every which way, fog-bound helicopters are brought down to earth by a female air controller, soldiers come home to Mom, laser equipped tanks sight their target and roar through puddles. Some-

# The Selling of the Army

By Tony Schmitz

Photographs by Bruce Powell





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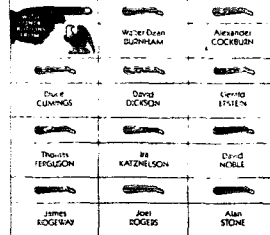
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### City Trenches

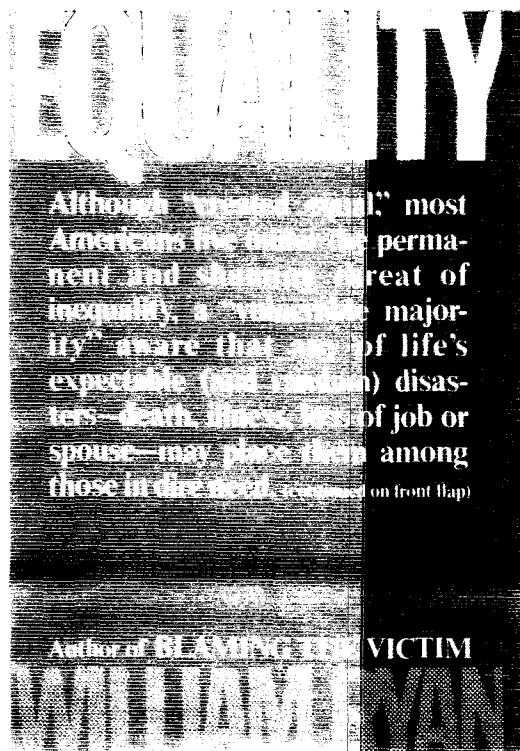
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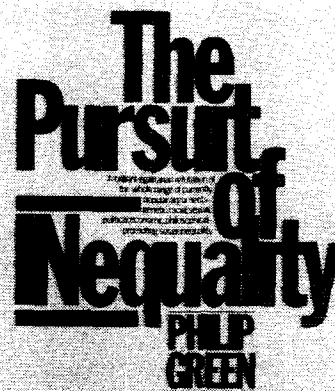
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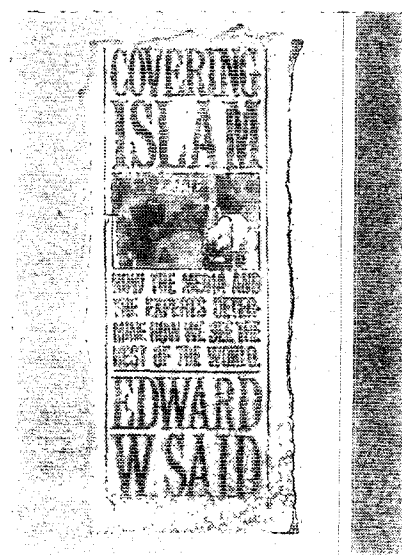
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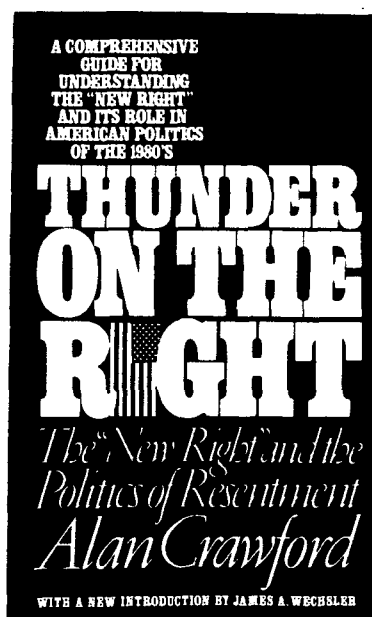
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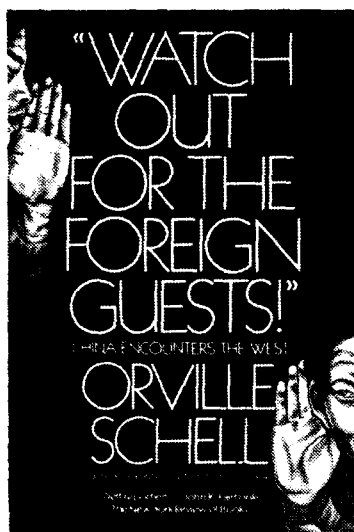
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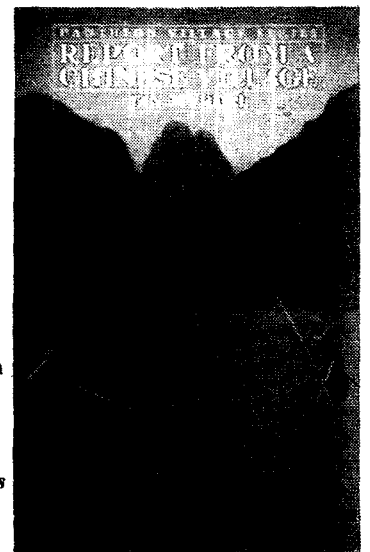
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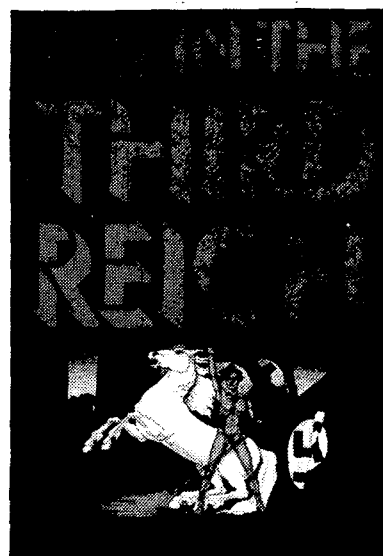
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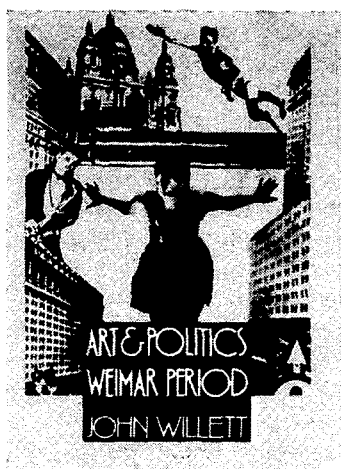
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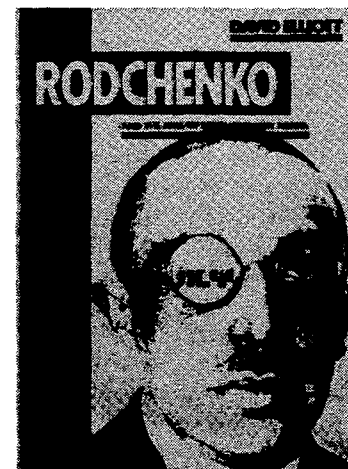


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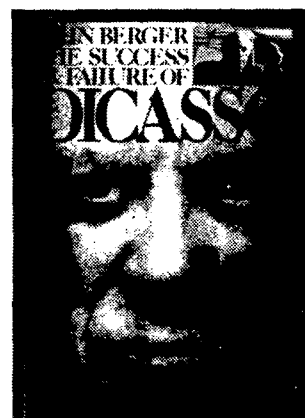
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one is always dashing off somewhere in this version of the Army, yet each spot has its poignant moment.

The campaign opened in late December 1980. Soon after, Simmon bought a 30-second spot on the Super Bowl, which delivered 48 percent of the 18-24 male audience at a cost of \$250,000. He buys time on sports programs and on *Dallas*, *Enos* and *Real People* regularly.

TV commercials are only part of the barrage of Army materials high school students will inevitably see. Students at 15,000 high schools—a total of 2.7 million boys and girls—receive magazines called *On Your Own* and *Sourcebook* that are crammed with Army ads and mail-in coupons for Army sweat bands and ROTC information. High school seniors can expect at least three pieces of direct mail from the Army, promising more sweat band sets or a collapsible frisbee in return for filling out a coupon. High school counselors and financial aid officers receive packets listing Army educational benefits. Ads run in *Time*, *Newsweek*, *TV Guide*, *Glamour*, *Seventeen*, *Essence*, *Jet* and *Ebony*. Coupon returns jumped from almost 90,000 in the second quarter of the 1980 fiscal year, to 290,000 responses in the second quarter of 1981.

"This campaign," Simmon said in a Fort Sheridan screening room, "is very slick. It's probably the most sophisticated advertising package in the U.S." Simmon is lucky to be in the theoretical end at Fort Sheridan. The warts on the target audience don't really come into focus until you see them up close, as a recruiter on the street.

On the ground.

It was, as Sergeant Gene Tumbarello puts it, "kind of ironic" that he, out of 775,000 Army soldiers, should be a recruiter. He was lied to so extravagantly by the recruiter that signed him up that now, 12 years later, Tumbarello claims he's still looking for the guy.

Tumbarello was a classically muddled teenager back in 1969. He was 18, had dropped out of high school, married and had a child.

"I talked to the Army recruiter," he said, "and told him I wanted to go into an electronics job. How about aircraft electrical maintenance?" he said. I said that sounds fantastic. Little did I know that along with that I had no guarantees. My last week of basic training they called out names—we were all going to draw the new M-16 rifle and go across the pond to Viet Nam. At that time I raised my hand and said there's got to be a mistake here. I'm supposed to fix helicopters at Fort Rucker, Ala. Everyone turned around and said, 'Gee, you got screwed.'"

After a year in the jungle as an infan-

tryman, Tumbarello got out in 1971 both bitter and confused. When he stepped off the plane in Chicago he was already clutching at his uniform, racing toward the restroom so he could rip it off. On the way, one of those legendary events of the period took place; some woman called him a baby killer and spit at him. Tumbarello, who knew he hadn't killed any babies—he just tried to keep himself alive—left his uniform on and stalked out of the airport.

He stayed out of the military for the next 35 months, bouncing from job to job. Finally he went back to the recruiting office and reenlisted. He volunteered for recruiting duty. Even though recruiting duty pays an extra \$150 a month, it's not one of the Army's glamour jobs. Tumbarello, however, saw it as a chance to advance his career. After nine years in the Army he is ranked at E-7, which would normally require 14 years of service.

Tumbarello took a three week course at the Army administrative school in Indianapolis, where he learned the fine points of sales technique. The Army used video-taped role playing to drill instructors, and ran them through a programmed learning course. One text, the Lee Dubois Creative Selling Student Handbook, advises recruiters to ignore a prospect the first seven times he says no. Appointments should be made 10 minutes before the hour, rather than on the hour or half hour. That way a prospect will drop his guard and assume the recruiter intends to stay for no more than 10 minutes.

On his first assignment after his training when Tumbarello walked into a Chicago suburban high school cafeteria with the recruiter he would replace, the kids pelted them with macaroni and cheese. This market, Tumbarello realized, would take some developing.

In the suburbs, the kids weren't worried about the future. If they wanted to go to college or a vocational school, their family had money for it. They could get a job. Tumbarello relied on the appeal of adventure and technology instead. He brought in Army linguists and electronics specialists. He taught land navigation classes at the high school. The post changed in three years from one that barely made half its mission to a place that filled 99 percent of its quota. Tumbarello earned himself a transfer to the inner city.



A better market.

With the exception of a pocket of Italians near the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus, the area is all black. The recruiting office is squeezed between a vacant lot and an African-American bookstore. "Disciples" is painted on a wall across the street.

Maybe 15 or 20 major crimes such as rape, robbery, murder or burglary are committed each day in the district, according to police patrolman Guido Colonna. Burglary fills about half the list. With unemployment levels among young blacks at around 50 percent by optimistic government statistics, Colonna said the high burglary rate isn't surprising.

The Vicelords and Disciples divide the turf. Though the gangs aren't a major problem, they're becoming more active again as older gang leaders get out of jail. "You've got a situation where men can't find work, where they feel they're a burden on their families," Colonna said. "You got a lot of kids who want to get away from the gangs. So sure, you got a lot of them who think about joining the Army."

This was the market Sergeant Tumbarello tried, not so successfully, to tap. During June the station put 23 people in the Army; this month the mission from Fort Sheridan was 12. It wasn't anything like the situation in the suburbs. Here the lobby was frequently packed. People walked in off the street, they called to make appointments. "Here you're talking money in the pocket, a little self esteem, a regular paycheck, not getting laid off. A lot of people just want to get

out of the community here."

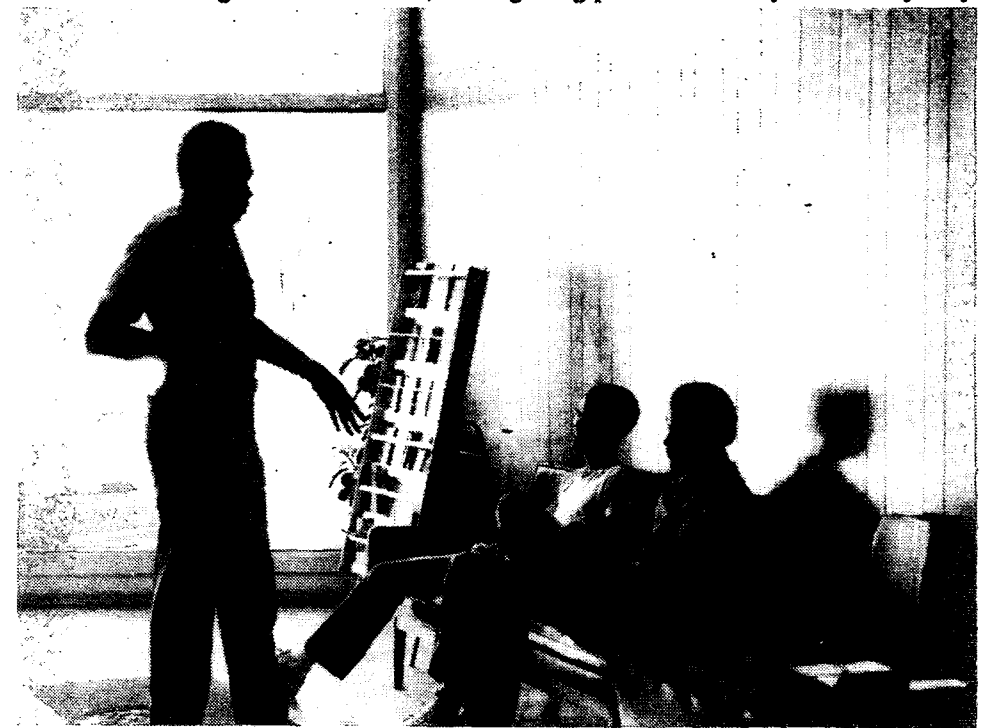
The problem here is that there are mental tests, a physical and a police records check to clear before prospects can sign up. Tumbarello estimates that in his territory more than 60 percent fail the mental test alone.

Tumbarello has a sample filled with questions similar to those on the real test. There are multiple-choice vocabulary questions that ask the meaning of words such as "inhabit" or "obliterate." Math problems are something like this: "Find the total thickness of two pieces of wood that a carpenter glued together if one is 5/16 inch thick and the other is 7/8 inch thick."

Tumbarello is still stunned that the school system cranks out students who do so poorly on these tests. When the valedictorian of a nearby school came in to sign up, she scored a 35 on the 98 point test, about the same score Tumbarello figures his 13-year-old son could pull down. "But she must have been the valedictorian," he said, "because everyone else from that school failed the test."

In addition to the normal problems of finding candidates who will pass the mental test, this month's quota had a treacherous component. The station had to come up with a female to enlist under the delayed entry program. Someone would have to find a girl entering her senior year at an area high school next September, and sign her up to graduate the following spring. It would be nothing but a year of headaches for Tumbarello. "I have to make sure that nothing happens to her, that if she has a boyfriend, that she uses contraceptives, that she doesn't get pregnant." Even after Tumbarello finds his female high school graduate, there's a 46 percent chance that she'll quit before finishing her first term of enlistment.

Throughout the week the usual problems came up. Did a prospect who admitted to three illegitimate children, some by other men's wives, have too many dependents to qualify for service? After intense scrutiny of the regulations, the answer seemed to be no. Was the kid who admitted that he stabbed a gang member trying to recruit his brother, even though he was never charged with the crime, dis-



qualified? Probably. Was the grapevine correct in its prediction of a surprise inspection on Wednesday? No.

For a few moments during the week Tumbarello considered whether he'd feel responsible if the kids he enlisted were killed in some far-flung, nickel-dime war. No, he said, that was a subject on which he couldn't allow himself second thoughts. He was a professional soldier. His concern was filling the Army with people he'd trust if he ever had to share a foxhole with them.

Sergeant William Gadberry, who has the finest military bearing of any of the recruiters on West Madison—he's tall and lean, and continues to wear the old tan uniform instead of the new green issue because he thinks it looks unquestionably military—was still staring at a full day of work at noon. He wanted to cruise Columbus Park for likely prospects. Then he had to drive clear down to Robbins to pick up a kid who wanted to take the mental test again that night. His first at-

tempt resulted in a score of 14 out of 98, two below the minimum qualifying score.

Gadberry cruised the park in his green government Gremlin, until he came up to a pair of black kids polishing a blue Mercury in the shade. Gadberry's rap was not strictly government issue.

"You working?" Gadberry said, and when both men said no, he said, "Let's face it, there ain't no jobs out here." Then he launched into a story of a distant relative laid off his job after 27 years, three years shy of the 30-year pension. "The corporations, all they want to do is make a profit," Gadberry concluded. A chorus of "That's right," followed. Gadberry handed out his card to both of them, then coaxed one, a bare-chested kid with a gold earring and loose Care-Free curls, into giving him his home address and phone number.

He pointed the Gremlin south to pick up the Robbins prospect. Berry Elkins, a young man who was out of school and out of work, came out of a house guarded by two boxers.

"You think I can go regular Army?" Elkins asked.

"Just pass that test. Pick up that \$500 bonus for joining the combat arms. You got nothin' to lose."

"Yeah, there's nothin' but time," Elkins said.

"Where you want to go man?" Gadberry asked Elkins. "Korea or Germany?"

"Oh, Korea, man. Korea."

"When I was there you could go into a store at noon and they'd take your picture. Then you'd go back there at three and pay them \$300 and pick up your suit."

"I want to pick me up a stereo system."

"They got some bad systems over there."

They talked about what the world is coming to, and Gadberry remembered a news story about a 70-year-old man, his wife and their dog, who were all raped by a gang of intruders. "Everybody says why should I go fight," Gadberry said. "I say, You're not fighting here? What about all the people gang-banging and shooting things up? And they're not even getting paid for it. They'll kill everybody



in America before they go over there and keep somebody from killing us. Nobody digs the service," he tells Elkins, "until there's a war."

"You think there's going to be a war?" Elkins asked.

"No, but at least if there's a war you got a weapon and you can shoot back. Here, you got a piece and the Man is going to put a fine on you, put you in jail."

"You got to be like me," Gadberry told Elkins. "You can't let nothin' scare you. You got to have nothing to fear but fear itself."

For Elkins it wasn't fear so much as the test. He failed, again, and went back to his home in Robbins.

Tony Schmitz is a feature writer for the *Chicago Reader*, where this article first appeared in different form.





# LETTERS

*IN THESE TIMES* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions express in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## COST DEFECTIVE

SAMUEL EPSTEIN'S USEFUL CRITIQUE of cost-benefit analysis (*ITT*, Aug. 12) omits a fundamental weakness of that approach, namely, that the political beliefs and moral ideals of citizens are poorly represented in a market or surrogate market analysis. People sometimes believe that certain social goals ought to be pursued, not because there is necessarily any personal gain in it for them, but because they think it is the right thing to do. These goals often express ideals to which we as a community are committed and that we can achieve only through collective action. Commitments to occupational safety and health, clean air and water and safe consumer products are of this type.

There is no use pretending that we all agree on the desirability or importance of these social goals. Indeed, such disagreements often define profoundly opposed political philosophies. The question is how to resolve these disputes. Probably the best way is through public discussion, argument and debate. A second best approach might be to delegate the decision to accountable officials who would fully disclose the factual and normative bases for their judgments.

In contrast, the only way an economic analysis can resolve these controversies is by putting prices on the political beliefs that are in conflict. This procedure requires a mathematical comparison of the intensity with which conflicting beliefs are held, rather than a balancing on the basis of their relative urgency. By reducing the question of what we stand for as a community to the question of what we are willing to pay for as individuals, the economic approach, in the end, would replace our political lives as citizens with our private lives as consumers.

—Mark MacCarthy  
Washington, D.C.

## TIME ENOUGH

I HAVEN'T THE TIME TO WRITE ALL the praise you deserve, but certainly do have enough to let you know that I find *In These Times* a good paper. The labor coverage is solid, and domestic stuff decent in general. Diana Johnstone is superb—Keep it up!

—Daniel Cantor  
Organizing Director  
United Labor Unions, New Orleans

## PLEASED

I AM WRITING TO TELL YOU HOW pleased I am with your newspaper. I have learned a great deal regarding economics, politics, and leftist life in general through *In These Times*. The times are hard, but someday the changes will come...

Education is the critical factor, and that certainly is *In These Times*' great contribution. Keep up the good work! Good luck.

—John K. Cox  
Raleigh, N.C.

## SALVADOR

DAVID HELVARG'S ARTICLE "THE Dlines are drawn in mountain areas" (*ITT*, Sept. 9) is an excellent and much-needed assessment of current developments in the Salvadoran civil war. Americans accustomed to hearing the State Department's more optimistic version of the story may be

surprised to learn that the Salvadoran security forces are not, as reported, controlling the insurgency, but that the guerrillas are instead winning important military gains and gathering increasing popular support.

Washington's persisting misperception—a tragic one in view of the mounting death toll in the country—is that the roots of the Salvadoran conflict are in Moscow and Havana rather than deep in the historical experience of the nation. As Helvarg demonstrates, the guerrillas are too firmly entrenched for the Duarte regime to win a military victory. Internal estimates by both the guerrillas and U.S. intelligence agencies indicate that neither side will be able to defeat the other without massive increases in military aid. Today, all signs point to a bloody and protracted war that will make a loser out of all sides.

The Reagan administration's recent moves to increase military and economic aid to the ruling junta, while claiming it is seeking a "political" solution, are a cynical and hypocritical policy ploy to prop up the Duarte junta until it can be "legitimized" by elections which are widely expected to be fraudulent.

The realities of the Salvadoran conflict call for a political solution rather than the sham elections offered by the U.S. In this light, the Aug. 28 initiative by France and Mexico to recognize the opposition as the first step towards all-party negotiations is an enormously promising development. Rather than using its ties with subservient Latin American nations to orchestrate opposition to the French/Mexican move, the U.S. might accept El Salvador's reality and either take an active role in promoting negotiations among all the parties in the conflict, or at least desist from hampering those who already are.

—Douglas Tweedale  
Research Associate, Council  
on Hemispheric Affairs  
Washington, D.C.

## NDP

DUE TO A LENGTHY POSTAL DISPUTE in this country, I just received the issue that contained coverage of our recent federal convention in Vancouver (*ITT*, July 15). The article by Doug Smith is so offensive that even at this late date, I should reply.

I don't usually complain about press coverage, but I regard your publication as one of the most serious and thoughtful publications on the American left.

First, most press accounts, and most New Democrats, regarded our recent convention as one of the most successful in the Party's history. Coming on the heels of a difficult and frustrating political year, to have put together the largest policy convention in our 20-year history and have it concluded with enormous goodwill despite the seriousness of the policy debates was no small achievement.

Your correspondent's review of the '80 federal election is amusing. Yes, we did lose members in Ontario, but we also elected the largest caucus in our history and received the support of more than two million Canadians, more than 20 percent of the electorate, the largest in our history.

The Constitutional debate in Canada has indeed been long and difficult for our Party and the country. Without detailing the points of disagreement among New Democrats on the issue, let me say that the examples Smith cites are not the major concerns in the minds of either the opponents or the support-

ers of the Constitutional resolution. He fails to mention that the Charter of Rights includes a guarantee of equality for women tougher than the ERA, the first guarantee of aboriginal rights in our country's history, and rights for Canada's handicapped community. And, on the other hand, he fails to mention that Saskatchewan's serious concern with the Constitution centered on the issue of consensus among the provinces and the federal government and control over resource ownership. Be that as it may, the convention's decision by a nearly two-thirds majority in favor of a future course of action for the Party is clear.

But perhaps the most offensive paragraph in the article is the characterization of Allan Blakeney's participation in the attempts to arrive at a compromise being "half-hearted." Premier Blakeney is not a man to approach as crucial an issue as this half-heartedly. Blakeney worked hard, both to arrive at a compromise and to have that compromise carry within his caucus. Those of us who participated in that process have no doubts about his integrity on that score.

I won't take more of your time detailing the errors contained in the sections on both the uranium debate and the foreign policy debate but suffice to say, they bear as much relationship to events as Smith's judgment on the Constitutional debate.

—Robin V. Sears  
Federal Secretary

## A PART OF OUR TIME

IN RECENT MONTHS I HAVE NOTICED that *In These Times* has begun to publish articles about photography.

I hope that this is a sign that you have accepted photography as part of our culture, and it will become a regular feature of *In These Times*' cultural coverage.

And not just book reviews, but reviews of shows, and in depth reporting on photography and photographers.

—Ken Light  
Vallejo, Calif.

## PROMOTING WAR

IN THE NEAR FUTURE TAX SUPPORT-Ed Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) is scheduled to show five pro-war films; they come under the title "The War Called Peace" (WCP). Origin: PBS TV Station WQLN, Box 10, Erie, PA 16572. The new and expanded blow-up of the WCP is based on a long film of the same name seen on PBS last year on July 7. This five-headed monster could come out in 1982 with 10 heads on it.

Peace groups working in concert might gather the money to make five answering films. Another way to answer would be to get on some of the established PBS time slots.

Chicagoans have available WTTW's Roger Ebert and Gene Siskel to comment on the WCP. New Yorkers could ask MacNeil/Lehrer to interview the notables coming to the United Nations Disarmament Conference in May 1982. Californians could get on Channel 28 in Los Angeles with their nightly "Newsbeat." KQED in upstate California might make available time periods on "Over Easy."

To ask for equal time and protest this war-whooper-upper contact Ms. Chloe Aaron, VP Programming, PBS-TV, 475 L'Enfant Plaza SW, Washington, DC 20024. A two-minute West Coast phone call before 8 p.m. is only 45¢ at (202) 488-5000.

"All that is needed for the forces of evil to win the world is for enough good people to do nothing."

—David Seldman  
Los Angeles, Calif.

## STRIKEBUSTING

I DISAGREE WITH YOUR EDITORIAL (*ITT*, Aug. 26) on the PATCO strike and must join the 70 percent of the

American people in supporting President Reagan's decision to dismiss the striking air-traffic controllers.

While this view makes me unpopular with many of my fellow unionists in AFGE (American Federation of Government Employees), there are legitimate reasons for prohibiting federal employees from striking. Federal employees are accorded, by law, pay comparability with employees performing similar jobs in the private sector and have collective bargaining rights over virtually all other aspects of working conditions of concern to federal employees, with mandatory recourse to mediation or arbitration of impasses.

While the "comparability" scheme is seriously flawed, the flaws work both ways. So called "alternative plans" whereby Congress and the President can shaft federal employees out of their full annual comparability pay increase is, at least partially, cancelled out by the exclusion from the comparability formula of benefits that are probably slightly higher in the federal sector than in most private employments. Moreover, federal employee unions have not, in general, been very cooperative in helping reform the inequities of the "comparability" system.

And once again, the Republican Party has handed socialism a victory, however well-disguised. The shock reverberating across the profit statements of already shaky airlines like PanAm, Eastern and New York Air could put them under, not to mention the lost profits resulting from delayed and cancelled flights. Moreover, not all travelers are so naive as to believe government assurances that the airways are safe, and they will look to alternatives, the most obvious being the publicly-owned AMTRAK. The first misguided airplane that spills its passengers over some runway should take care of whatever credibility remains of the government's nonsense about flight safety.

As an Anderson Republican and supporter of socialist economics, I will note that the Republican form of corporate deception is far more honest than the Democrats' corporate liberal deception. The Democrats' New Deal and Great Society took decades to be exposed as the shams they are (a negation of the work ethic financed by working people called welfare which is designed to destroy poor people's pride and initiative while placating them enough to keep them from vigorously opposing the capitalist/free enterprise establishment).

The Reagan plan, however, promises to succeed or fail quickly, i.e., soon enough so that in the likely event it fails, Americans will not have forgotten the failure of the now discredited Democrat social policy mish-mosh, and will turn to socialist alternatives. I foresee a frustrated policy out there in the not-too-distant future, confused by the inability of anything to work, desperately looking for answers. Socialism—with explanations for otherwise inexplicable problems—must be there waiting. For much as Margaret Thatcher's radical conservatism has spawned a new political force in Britain, so too can Reagan do the same here.

But socialism must do three things. It must put aside its petty and foolish differences over strategy and fine points of ideology, commit itself fully to democracy as a political system, and prepare mature and plainly worded, thoughtful and undeological explanations of its positions appealing to the general public. Work on the first two items must begin. The last is already completed. It is only a matter of reprinting enough copies of key *In These Times* articles for mass distribution.

—Dino Joseph Drudi  
Washington, D.C.

*Editor's note: Please try to keep letters less than 250 words long. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.*



STEVE MAX

## Two-wage households feed new right backlash in traditional families

**T**HEY SIT AT TINY OUT-door tables along Columbus Avenue, eating tiny \$5 hamburgers and sipping tiny \$3 glasses of wine. They happily snap up a one-bedroom apartment at \$1000 a month, which they fill with oak furniture and a brass bed from one of the dozens of antique shops that now dot the avenue. The shops have replaced the shoemakers, tailors, dry cleaners and grocery stores that served the neighborhood's former residents.

The "new people" have no need for such services. They are clad in designer shorts and tee shirts. Their worn running shoes are regularly discarded, and they always eat out. On weekends, thousands flock to the beaches of the Hamptons and Fire Island, where they tan to reminiscences of last year's skiing season. With each passing month, the borders of their domain expand. Now a stationery store has succumbed to the pressure of rising rents and has been replaced by a specialty shop, the entire stock of which seems to consist of a single lump of goose liver pate. Displayed in the window on a silver pedestal under a crystal dome, it is bathed in spotlights like a jewel and is appropriately priced.

Who are these people, the delight of real estate developers, condo operators and city fathers, who see in them an instant solution to the growing urban crisis? Gentrification, visible across the country, is but the tip of an iceberg. It marks a major demographic shift in the population that is having a profound impact on the '80s. It has already contributed to the growth of the right wing, and to the Reagan victory as well.

Beneath it all lies the baby boom of the 1940s, the great surge in the population that produced the student movement of the '60s, and that may be the basis of a senior citizen revolution early in the next century. The boom generation has now entered its peak family formation and spending years, which lie between the ages of 25 and 44. Over the next decade, that age group will be swelled faster than any other by the addition of almost 16 million people. By 1990 it will comprise one-third of the population.

The makers of everything from baby clothes to luxury cars are all aglow at the prospect of the new market, but the demographics tell only part of the story. Whenever a large number of people of roughly the same age come looking for work at the same time, it leads to intense competition for the few good jobs. This has been the case with the baby boom generation, but to make matters more difficult for them, they hit the job market at the start of our prolonged period of stagflation. The combination results in pressures strong enough to influence lifestyle and culture, reinforcing such trends as delayed marriage, the rise in childless families and the soaring divorce rate. Family income, not individual income, has now become the key to staying ahead of inflation, and with it the ability to enjoy being middle class. The decision to delay marriage or family has paid off for many members of the baby boom generation. These upwardly mobile professional working couples without children are the base of the new gentry. They are gaining an ever-increasing share of family income, which by 1990 will put one-fourth of all families in control of half of all family income.

### The other side.

There is another side to this story of rising affluence. *Business Week* says, "It's discount houses and boutiques that are flourishing today—generic goods and



specialty items." Who buys the generic goods? The poor, no doubt, but increasingly the middle 60 percent of the population. As *U.S. News* put it, "Millions of middle income families are being pinched to the point of becoming America's new have-nots." There have always been haves and have-nots in the U.S., but we are used to seeing them separated by a large middle class. Now the middle class is dividing out into two groups, an affluent minority that stays ahead of inflation, and a majority that falls behind. That division, which is taking the middle out of the middle class, is not happening simply along the predictable lines of race and class. Indeed, have and have-not families live next door to each other and work in the same places. Which group a

family falls into is determined in part by the year in which a home was purchased, the amount of debt being carried, the section of the country, public or private sector employment, family size and the number of wage earners.

The families in which both husband and wife work have doubled in the last two decades, and their median income is 40 percent higher than single-earner families. Putting more people on the job has clearly become a major way to beat inflation.

But what of the families who can't or didn't send two members out to work? They must feel tricked and betrayed. They played by the rules and followed the traditions in which they had been taught to believe: marriage after school with babies quickly to follow; fathers who work while mothers stay home to raise 2.3 children.

Most couples who recently tried to follow this tradition ended up in the have-nots, living on credit, losing the financial battle and cutting family spending to the bone. How can such people not be bitter at the sight of their contemporaries who flaunted tradition, lived in sin, practiced abortion, delayed having children and are now being rewarded with the good life?

How can they resist the attraction of right-wing appeals to preserve the family, to get women back into the home and to strike out at the hedonistic lifestyle of the gentry? The simplistic right-wing equation goes something like this: prices, rents and interest rates are set at what people with two incomes can afford, so

defeat the ERA, get the women off the job and back into the home, then not only will everything have to be made cheaper again, but there will be more jobs for men, and higher wages.

Of course it doesn't work that way. Women don't cause inflation, but many people are unclear about cause and effect. Remember the early craftsmen who tried to stop the industrial revolution by breaking the machines.

Calls for the preservation of the traditional family must also strike a sympathetic chord among two-earner families in the lower middle class. Studies show what has been called a new immiseration and a poverty of leisure time for working women. When work in the home was counted equally with work on the job, employed parents were found to be putting in 122 hours a week. That's three full-time jobs for two people. The breakdown is: husbands 53 hours, wives 69 hours. No wonder that the National Commission on Working Women said that more than half the working women interviewed have no leisure time whatsoever. However unsatisfactory life at home may have been, life in the workforce has added new strains without eliminating the old ones—except for families in the highest wage brackets who can afford to hire outside help.

We leftists have often assumed that right-wing and religious appeals to the integrity of the family are merely code words for being anti-equal rights, anti-abortion and anti-gay. Often we are correct, but over the years, middle America

*The families in which husband and wife both work have doubled since 1970, and their median income is 40 percent higher than traditional single-earner families.*



seems to have gotten the impression that some of us would rather fight for the right not to have a family than fight to defend the possibility of family life. The lack of equal vigor on both fronts has lost us much ground. It needs to be said that the Reagan economic program to shift income from the bottom of the middle class to the top, is the real enemy of the family.

Not only that, but under supply side economics, the ideal worker would be single, willing to move anywhere and to be housed in a very small apartment, or better yet, a boarding house. He would not make wage demands to feed a family, nor burden the state with redundant children to be educated at public expense.

The political genius of Reagan and the right-wing organizations that back him, is that for the moment they have managed to get the support of haves and have-nots. Reagan promises to give to the rich and at the same time to restore affluence for those who now see it slipping away. Meanwhile, the grass roots right wing has organized a religious and cultural diversion, offering false solutions to real and deeply felt problems. It can't all hang together for long. While stagflation remains the rule, higher earners benefit at the expense of lower earners. Someone is bound to notice this and ask how the president can really support the interests of both groups at once.

People will not automatically come back into the camp of the Democratic Party, however. Liberal Democrats have failed to take into account these deepening divisions, and are unable or unwilling to attack growing corporate profits, which have been taken from the lower wage and salary earners and redistributed in small portion to those with high salaries. The anger of the have-nots, instead of being targeted at corporate power, is diverted instead to the lifestyle of the haves. As the Reagan economic program starts to fail, an anti-corporate campaign calling for relief of the family, offers the best hope for stopping the momentum of the right.

Steve Max is on the staff of the Midwest Academy and is co-chair of West Side Citizen Action, a chapter of the NYPIRG Citizen Alliance.



# PERSPECTIVES

## Britain's left socialists knock heads together in effort to influence Labour

By Karen Rosenberg

**T**HE COMING TOGETHER of the British socialist left cannot yet be announced, but there are stirrings in that direction. The disastrous policies of Margaret Thatcher and the failure of splinter groups of the '70s to attract significant support have stimulated discussion in recent months. It is likely that Britons will not tolerate the Tories much longer—the sorry showing of the Conservatives at Warrington suggests that—and socialists are attempting to put together an alternative program. One result is the emergence of a Socialist Society in Britain, a non-sectarian group devoted to the development and dissemination of socialist ideas. The point of this organization is, not simply to present a prefabricated package to the people, for while there is still a great deal of activity on the left in Britain both inside and outside the Labour Party, a coherent socialist vision is still lacking. Whether the Society will articulate such a vision remains to be seen, but those who are forming it believe the left cannot afford a major failure at this juncture.

The Socialist Society may be thought of as an attempt to create a Fabian Society on the left, a forum in which academics and others can create a comprehensive entity out of their various enterprises. But the analogy is not exact, notes Ralph Miliband, one of the initiators of the group, for there is a great deal of socialist education now going on in a variety of fields—the Conference of Socialist Economists, radical philosophers, feminists—that did not exist when the Fabians started. "The idea of the Socialist Society is not to preempt or take over such organizations," Miliband explains, "but to see whether it is possible to bring them into a larger structure."

Part of the impetus came from the *New Left Review*, and in particular from its editor, Robin Blackburn. Perry Anderson, Raymond Williams, Hilary

Wainwright and Tariq Ali also participated in informal discussions that led to a meeting this summer in London. It was attended by 100 people from different parts of the socialist left including left social democrats, Trotskyists, Communists and members of the Socialist Workers Party. The coalition is loose, an experiment in creative coexistence. Wainwright, a feminist and socialist, reflects the traditions the women's movement brings to the group when she says that it will try to avoid "leaderism" and hierarchy. A steering committee of some 20 people is coordinating efforts and setting up subcommittees on economic policy, the media, law and the police and reforms of the British political system. Lectures, seminars and publications are being planned. A founding convention will be held in late 1981, most likely in November.

The Society will be directing its efforts, first of all, at the labor movement, in other words, the trade unions as well as the Labour Party. Says Miliband, "The ultimate aim would be to turn socialism into the common sense of the labor movement and today it is not. The common sense of the labor movement is laborism, a defense of labor rights and interests, welfare and the rest, which are extremely important and which form part of a radical program but which don't necessarily come together into a socialist view of the world."

Miliband has argued this position before, in his influential book *Parliamentary Socialism* and in articles from the mid-'70s in the *Socialist Register*, an anthology coedited by him. What is different these days is that Miliband, Wainwright and many others see a greater possibility of working in cooperation rather than in rivalry with the Labour Party. This is chiefly because there is a section of Labour associated with the name of Tony Benn that is, in Miliband's view, "proto-socialist, an advanced social democratic position moving in a socialist direction." And that makes dialogue between this Socialist Society and the Labour Party possible.

How much the group should be oriented

toward the Labour Party is a matter for debate. Some in the Society think its goal is to strengthen and teach socialism in the Labour Party, others feel the Labour Party should not be the group's main focus. But positions do not seem frozen. Wainwright remains skeptical about the extent to which the Labour Party can be changed, but believes that it is "a priority" to work closely with the Labour left. "Now that left Labour is organized, it is easier to build bridges to it, and we want alliances leading to something new," she explains. And there is reciprocal motion, she contends, for Benn is trying to reach out toward the women's movement. According to Miliband, Benn represents a remarkable and important challenge to the Labour establishment. The fact that Benn is so vilified in the media is a measure of his impact.

The role of the media (much of which is pro-Social Democrat) in shaping opinion is significant, and another objective of the Socialist Society is to serve as an alternative educator of the public. The group is acutely aware that socialism cannot be built without popular support that does not now exist. "It involves more than simply passing resolutions at the annual party conference or making a cross besides a name and voting Labour," says Miliband. It means creating a movement based outside of parliamentary politics, says Wainwright, a movement that will then politicize the Labour Party.

This attempt is aided by the fact that the women's movement in Britain is much more open to socialist thinking than in the U.S. When I asked several

ments movement and the Conference of Socialist Economists are holding a conference in London to deal with such issues as the tensions between planning and popular control, the role of worker co-ops in the creation of socialist democracy and how to control multinationals. There is clearly some overlap between the Beyond the Fragments network and the nascent Socialist Society but at this point there does not seem to be competition between the two.

It is too early to tell how successful the Socialist Society will be in turning dissatisfaction with Thatcher's policies into enthusiasm about alternative socialist programs. The genre of left socialist ideas—books and pamphlets that discuss current and future issues in terms which the layperson can understand—already exists. Merlin Press and the Spokesman publications of the Bertrand Russell House, for example, have a sizeable list of titles. Leftist university teachers have not been caught in the web of classes, academic journals and professional meetings as much as their American counterparts. They have some interest and experience in writing for a larger audience.

But, cautions Miliband, while Britain, when compared with the U.S., looks much more lively, one ought not to be misled. In terms of the currency of socialist thinking, he observes, Britain is still weak. The Labour Party's terms in office, 1964-70 and 1974-79, are now widely recognized as periods of failure and dereliction. It is necessary to rehabilitate not only the Labour Party, but also the idea of a socialist alternative. A lot of peo-

### Now that Thatcher is failing and the forces led by Tony Benn have gained the upper hand in the Labour Party, cooperation is attractive.

British feminists what was the number one women's issue in their country, they replied, almost to a woman, "Unemployment." This does not mean that combining feminism and socialism have been easy. In the collection of articles called *Beyond the Fragments*, soon to be published in the states by Alyson Publications, Sheila Rowbotham, Hilary Wainwright and Lynne Segal criticized the Leninist, patriarchal structure of the small, leftist organizations of the late '60s and early '70s. Yet the next step they called for was not separatism but the formation of leftist groups in which the method of organization is as important as the philosophy being articulated.

The positive response to this book has been noteworthy. "Benn has been kind of friendly to *Beyond the Fragments*," Wainwright reports. And the book formed the basis for a conference in Leeds in August 1980 attended by more than 1,500 men and women. Out of that meeting came *Beyond the Fragments Bulletin*, now in its second issue, and a network of local socialists, feminists and left libertarians that has sponsored small gatherings. This October, the *Beyond the Frag-*

ple have become turned off to talk of socialism because of recent history and say, in effect, "What did you do last time?" "It will take more than a one-year campaign by Benn to establish credibility," Wainwright maintains, "because the Labour Party has been discredited in the past."

This sober realism is not coupled with pessimism, however, for the feeling is that socialism is an idea rooted in the proverbial contradictions of capitalism. There are problems that create demands and pressures from below, Miliband holds, and "neither the Socialist Society nor a million socialist societies could make any difference if they did not encounter objective conditions that create needs and possibilities. If capitalism had resolved its problems, it would be much more difficult to get anywhere with a Socialist Society." It is a mistake to say that we are doing so much worse than before, he argues and to look back to a golden age that exists only in people's imagination. "There isn't such an age," he says, "and things haven't sagged nearly as much as people think."

Calls for increased military and police power or for the reduction of trade union rights do worry leftists. There is a fear that capitalist corporatism will emerge within the shell of traditional institutions and try to overcome the problems it encounters by crushing resistance and demobilizing the trade unions. Miliband warns that it is not impossible to habituate people in a crisis like the present one to demands for law and order and the curtailment of civic freedoms. Speaking after the riots of the summer, he said, "I don't think it's entirely a fantasy and, although I don't want to exaggerate, I think we have moved some way toward this and shouldn't underestimate the dangers. In such circumstances, the question of what Labour has to offer is more pressing. One looks with a great deal of anguish to what people on the left can do to present an alternative of decent and humane renewal."

Karen Rosenberg is an assistant professor at Williams. She spent five weeks in Britain this summer, where she interviewed Ralph Miliband and Hilary Wainwright.

"In These Times is a cure for mental monotony, a relief from rhetoric—whether they're writing about world affairs, Walt Disney World or my world of acting—it's a publication that deserves to be read and digested."

*Edward Asner*  
Edward Asner



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# Well Read

## Jim Hightower on building the left

*The issue in 1984 is not who to run for president, but for mayor or council.*

By Steve Rosswurm

**A** RECENT INTERVIEW with Jim Hightower in *Working Papers* (July/August 1981) has lessons that the left could use to escape its self-imposed ghetto. Hightower almost won a seat on the Texas Railroad Commission, which *Forbes* recently called one of the country's "most important governmental agencies." Fred Harris' 1976 campaign manager and former editor of the *Texas Observer*, Hightower won 48 percent of the vote in the May 1980 primary, even though his opponent outspent him \$700,000 to \$196,000. The stakes were high—the Commission oversees about 25 percent of the country's oil reserves, about 25 percent of its natural gas reserves, 10 percent of its coal reserves and almost 7 percent of its uranium reserves. In his interview Hightower discussed the campaign. His major point was that the left must go to the people with econ-

omic issues. The central theme of the campaign was price-gouging, and the assumption was that Texas knew they were being gouged. The object, then, was to offer concrete solutions to the problem.

Hightower argues that these issues must be raised on the local level because "people live locally and very specifically...people aren't against corporate power, but they are against their local utility." The left, moreover, is in no position to make a challenge at the national level: "The issue isn't who is gonna be president in 1984, 'cause it's not going to be anybody we'll be proud of. The issue is who's going to be mayor of San Antonio, who's going to be county commissioner, who's going to be ag commissioner in Iowa."

Hightower advocates straight talk on bread and butter issues: "You hit [social questions, i.e., busing, gun control, abortion] a quick lick. You say here's my position and don't waffle. If you waffle, people say, well Jesus, you're just another politician. So just get your lick and get off of it. The real point is: get back to the economic issues. And that's true, that is what has people turned upside down."

Hightower sees the Democratic Party as a malleable institution: "The way you take over the Democratic Party is by getting elected. The party becomes what you say it is."

Hightower's critical assumption—and surely this is why his campaign has been

ignored so studiously—is that the left must participate in electoral politics on the local level. Until there is no more need to debate this question, until the epithet "social democrat" is no longer hurled at those who espouse involvement in the electoral arena, the left will continue to be irrelevant.

**Short Takes:** Noteworthy analyses of the continuing developments in Poland include: interviews and documents in *Radical America* (May/June, 1981); a lengthy piece by a Pole living in Paris in *Monthly Review* (June, 1981); and, an

article in *Capital and Class* (Spring, 1981, the superb publication of the English Conference of Socialist Economists). See *Socialist Review* (July/August, 1981) for an illuminating discussion of sexuality and feminism by Deirdre English, Amber Hollibaugh, and Gayle Rubin. Particularly important are their critical comments on the anti-pornography movement. Staughton Lynd draws lessons from the Youngstown plant closings in the most recent issue of *Radical America* (July/August, 1981). *Catalyst* (a "socialist journal of social sciences"), No. 9/10, is devoted to the state of the black community in America. Of special interest to *In These Times* readers are articles on the "free enterprise zone" approach to black urban poverty and the crisis of black youth unemployment. (The special issue is \$5 and a year's subscription of four issues is \$12. Box 1144 Cathedral Sta., New York 10025). ■

Steven Rosswurm teaches history at Lake Forest College.

## Anti-Soviet rhetoric stubs toe in the press

By Steve Kovacs

**T**HE PLUNGING OF TEMPERATURES in the new Cold War can be seen not only by the president calling the Russians liars or in the escalation of the defense budget, but also in the increase of anti-Soviet rhetoric in the pages of the press. One of the more hilarious recent jibes at the omnivorous Russian bear came from the typewriter of Robert Gil-

lette of the *Los Angeles Times* who took on Russian foreign aid in a front page article headlined "Soviets Pay High Price to Run an Empire" (Aug. 30).

Gillette hits us first with the enormity of the aid. "The Soviet government diverts the equivalent of more than \$25 billion a year to foreign aid, a sum more than three times what the United States spends on foreign aid, siphoned from an economy only three-fifths the size of the U.S. economy."

If they are spending so much more than we, they must be up to something despicable. But they are mysteriously stingy about it: "The Kremlin is generally believed to commit no more than about \$2 billion of this huge sum, and probably less, to economic aid for non-communist developing countries."

Indeed, they are really interested mainly in their own back yard: "Virtually all of the Soviet Union's immense foreign aid investment goes to prop up the economies of its closest allies and satellites, from Vietnam, Mongolia and Afghanistan to distant Cuba. But most of all, it supports the six Warsaw Pact nations of Eastern Europe."

And they are so low that they are even willing to rob from their own people to let foreigners have more goods: "The Soviet aid commitment benefits Eastern Europe, where standards of living as measured by such factors as meat consumption, the availability of modern housing and the variety and quality of

cause they have ideals of equality and an intolerance of formality. The Japanese students fit in best, and can make the system work for them.

The use after Liberation of the word "comrade" as a new form of address is significant in a society where friendship "across" instead of respect "up and down" has always been difficult. The word "comrade" means "of the same will" and implies a kind of togetherness. It has been used among strangers the way "sir" or "madam" is used in English.

But its private use seems to be receding as it acquires a *People's Daily* air of formality. Good friends use it as a joke. In public, intellectuals and cadres still use "comrade" when addressing strangers, but there has been a steady trend among young workers to switch to the word "master." They generalize the term of respect in the factory for old workers to street use. In other words, between friends "comrade" is too stiff but some people think that between strangers it doesn't carry enough information about social difference.

What about foreigners in China who obviously aren't "comrades" or your Fifth Aunt? Sometimes I feel that my just being here, a bit of the outside inside China, forces people to extend their categories to include me too. Sort of an unwitting Fifth Modernization. Everytime I am called Foreign Auntie I wince, but everytime we can proceed on a basis of mutual interest and pleasure I feel I have made a small place for myself in the intricate plot of social relationships that Chinese people carry around in their heads.

Sometimes though you just have to dodge the whole issue. Once on the bus the zealous ticket seller was urging a reluctant older woman to give me a seat for the sake of Sino-American friendship. We had a long politeness struggle during which I pointed out my age, and the non-pregnant and perfectly whole state of my health. People on the bus aligned in opinion on two sides. Finally, in desperation, I lept off the bus at the next stop to the waves and smiles of my faction. ■

Historian Angela Zito has been living in China for a year.

ANGELA ZITO

## The Chinese don't know what to call a fifth aunt

**M**Y NEIGHBOR CAME over this morning with last night's *Peking Evening News*. She held the popular column by Afanti, a play on words meaning "all sorts of questions."

"Now things will get even worse on the bus."

It seems a young soldier in the PLA had given his seat to a foreign woman who had thanked him in broken Chinese. Some teenagers laughed at the soldier and said he was "fawning on foreigners." Our letter writer wanted to know what Afanti thought.

Afanti disagreed. Giving seats on buses to "old people, children, pregnant women and cripples" was courtesy. And since foreigners in China are "guests" it is common courtesy to give them a seat too. There we are then, we foreigners, in the same category as other members of society who need special help and care.

This column reminded me of something said by Lu Xun, a symbol of progressive writing since the '20s. In 1919 he wrote that Chinese people have always had two attitudes toward foreigners: either they look down upon them as barbarians, or kow-tow to them and treat them as superiors. The ability to "look across" at people in some sort of horizontal mutuality is missing. But foreigners are not the only ones above or below: Chinese people also tend to arrange themselves in rank order.

People still extend family titles to outsiders. Chinese kinship terms identify people much more precisely than they do in English, especially by age. Your friends' Little Brother is your Little Brother and her Younger Sister will call you Elder Sister. Many times Chinese

friends have complained that they don't know what to call someone who is their superior in age but inferior in position.

"How about their names?" I sneakily suggest.

This tendency to think of relationships as either above or below oneself, the constant groping for a correct form of address, affects different foreigners differently. It hits Americans hardest be-



Bus riders in Peking have trouble relating to foreigners because they are unsure of their place in the social ladder.

## Sinister Soviets take bread from Russians, give it to closest allies.

consumer goods all are generally higher than in the Soviet Union." Shrewd Russians. They are going to enslave the world by a weapon more ominous than guns—consumer goods: "As a general rule, the pipelines and credit lines that tie the six Warsaw Pact nations to the Soviet Union have been as effective a guarantor of political allegiance as the presence of Soviet tanks."

What do they really want: "Protective buffers along its southern border and a strategic presence in far-flung regions of the world."

If the Russians continue to exert their domination over the world by the use of such nefarious methods, they will surely subjugate billions with their excessive hand-outs. But please don't let Reagan hear of this. He might start a mutually destructive foreign aid race that could leave the whole world suffering from the effects of consumer goods fallout. ■

Steven Kovacs runs a film production company in Los Angeles.



## BIOGRAPHY

# Shadowing Hammett

**Shadow Man: The Life of Dashiell Hammett**  
By Richard Layman  
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich,  
285 pp., \$14.95

By Paul Skenazy

The ghost of Dashiell Hammett's fictions stalk countless films, books, magazines, and male imaginations. He is the fictional hero of Joe Gores' re-

cent mystery story, *Hammett*, and the wise old lover and confidant and tutor and friend of Lillian Hellman's several memoirs. He was the tough guy who was the only man in Hollywood besides Chaplin, that Gertrude Stein insisted on meeting, because she liked the way he wrote about women. He was one of the special men of conscience who refused to "name names," and he went to jail for his silence.

He was born in Maryland in 1894. His mother was tubercular, his father a drinker and womanizer unable to maintain steady work. At 15, Hammett left high school to help support his family. Around 1915 he became an operative of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, then the largest in the country and, among other things, a private army notorious for its strike-breaking activities. It was here that Hammett found a home and—coincidentally—himself.

Following a brief period in the army in the early '20s, a severe and recurrent case of tuberculosis forced Hammett to stop his detective career. Ailing, with a family, he enrolled in a business school, learned how to type, and taught himself to be a writer. In the next eight years, from 1922 to 1930, he produced more than 60 stories and his four most important novels: *Red Harvest*, *The Dain Curse*, *The Maltese Falcon*, and *The Glass Key*. Other stories and *The Thin Man* soon followed, after which Hammett busied himself with occasional film work, a comic strip (Secret Agent X-9) and some radio scripts.

The years from 1934 until Hammett's death in 1961 read like an endless set of footnotes to a brilliant six-line poem. He smoked too much, he drank too much. He spent lavishly. He earned and squandered enormous amounts of money—more than a million dollars from the "Thin Man" series of movies alone. A friend once said that he lived as if "he had no expectation of being alive much beyond Thursday."

Hammett was involved in several political causes. He went to jail because "If it were more than jail, if it were my life, I would give it for what I think democracy is and I don't let cops or judges tell me what I think democracy is."

### Cold creed.

Hammett's writing varies from decent to very, very good. He transformed the then precious detective story form into a formula capable of recording the range of urban life. His finest works, like *The Maltese Falcon* and *The Glass Key*, stand up to frequent rereading for their angular clarity and almost haughty nihilism. Unlike Chandler and Ross Macdonald and other writers in the genre, Hammett is unsentimental. He writes of a world of deception, greed, violence and disorder. His detective is subject as well as narrator, a man without inner life. Profession, discipline and a cold creed of human obligation bind the hero to his world. Control and habit are his antidotes to anarchy and chance.

Layman confirms what we have known of the essential events in Hammett's life, and helps correct minor errors in dates and locations. He also argues persuasively against the reality of many of the apocryphal tales of detective adventure Hammett loved to tell about his early career. Layman's prose avoids the maudlin adoration one finds

in too many biographies, and his conciseness is a welcome change from the endless recitations of family breakfasts and train rides and shopping trips in so many other studies. Finally, he provides some of the congressional records and the investigative material from Hammett's FBI file.

But the book is written without feeling for the subject, and without attention to the contexts that help define and clarify actions. It is a biography as biblio-

**"I don't let cops or judges tell me what democracy is," he said.**

graphy, as stenography and editing.

Layman's pride in objectivity becomes a deception. He does judge, in his choice of method, of materials, of exclusions. For instance, Layman tells us (without source) that Hammett's initial political interests came at the prompting of Lillian Hellman

(she says the opposite). A few pages later, he lists Hammett's political activities during the '30s, but again gives us no statements from Hammett, or friends of Hammett's, during this time. We are told what groups Hammett joined, what petitions he signed. We are assured that he must have been a Communist Party member.

We see Hammett principally through FBI information. We hear nothing of the political climate, nothing of other writers similarly concerned and involved in social and political life. Layman's Hammett is an isolated radical with commitments but without explanations. Yet when I read of Hammett's activities against the history of the decade, Hammett seems surprisingly mild in his affiliations. He emerges as a sympathetic, concerned, left-leaning citizen, an involved liberal. The groups he supported were far from extreme.

*Shadow Man* ignores a sacred lesson that Hammett, or any other decent writer, has to teach us: that motive and meaning are embedded in situation.

Richard Skenazy teaches English at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

## HISTORY

# The case of the colorful editor

**Minnesota Rag: The Dramatic Story of the Landmark Supreme Court Case That Gave New Meaning to Freedom of the Press**  
By Fred W. Friendly  
Random House, 243 pp., \$12.95

By Seth Kupferberg

In a 1931 Supreme Court decision called *Near v. Minnesota*, the Court struck down a state law that authorized judges to forbid further publication of periodicals found to be "malicious, scandalous and defamatory." By a five-to-four majority, the Court said that such a law is "of the essence of censorship," since it restrains criticism of officials' conduct in advance instead of punishing any abuses afterwards. The case became a key legal precedent in more recent journalistic challenges to government "prior restraint" of publication, including the Pentagon Papers case in 1971.

*Near v. Minnesota* also had symbolic significance, as an early signal of a change in the Court's conception of the "liberty" the Constitution protects against government interference. In the past, the Court had stopped government intervention in economic life, citing "liberty of contract" and other freedoms meaningful chiefly to the rich. Thus, in 1923 the Court had found a minimum-wage law unconstitutional. After the decision the Court usually let elected officials pass what laws they liked about economic life, while striking down laws that limited political and civil liberties such as freedom of the press and other freedoms listed in the Bill of Rights.

Friendly explains *Near v. Minnesota's* legalities clearly and

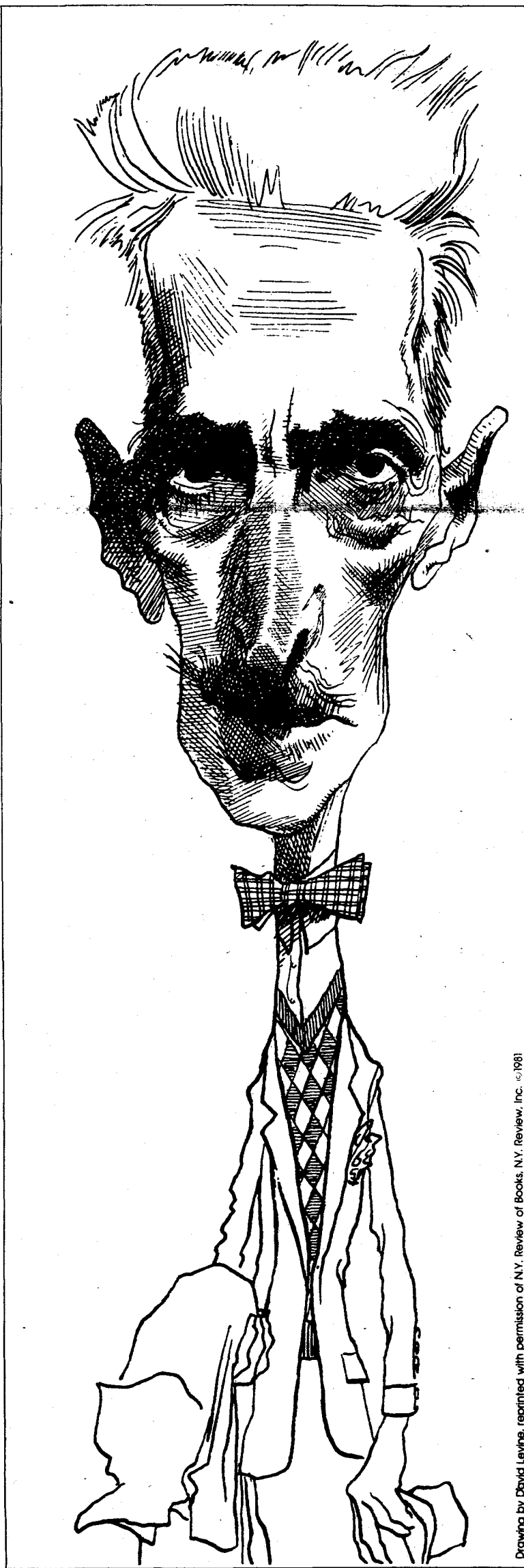
succinctly. In the Court's majority were Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, Justice Louis Brandeis and others to whom freedom of speech and press seemed fundamental. Four dissenting Justices thought maintaining public order justified suppressing scandalous newspapers; these same four judges soon became widely hated for their votes to invalidate New Deal legislation in the name of economic freedoms.

This constitutional history is interesting, but by itself it probably could not account for *Minnesota Rag's* appeal. *Near v. Minnesota* was no *Brown v. Board of Education*, focusing and reshaping 300 years of American social history. But the newspaper challenging Minnesota's law in the case was no ordinary rag.

"I am a bosom friend of Mr. Olson," snorted a gentleman of Yiddish blood," begins one article which Butler's dissent reprinted to show that the *Saturday Press* really was a nuisance. This Twin Cities paper, which Jay M. Near worked for, was plausibly charged with attempted blackmail. It denounced its enemy, county attorney Floyd Olson—later Farmer-Labor governor of Minnesota—as a "Jew lover." In addition to a flair for colorful writing (and, Friendly makes clear, enough courage to take on dangerous local gangsters, especially Jewish ones), the *Saturday Press* had some vicious, crabbed ideas.

Friendly makes the dour political primitives who edited *Saturday Press* vivid. For example, Near's partner, Howard A. Guilford, was a 200-pound Bay Stater who

Continued on page 23



Drawing by David Levine, reprinted with permission of N.Y. Review of Books, N.Y. Review, Inc. ©1981



# NOTHBOOK



## Kochemusha: The Shadow Mayor

By Josh Brown and Howard Saunders  
782 West End Ave., #83, New York City, NY 10025  
\$2 plus \$1 postage  
A sharply funny, sometimes raucous spoof, this comic book recounts the search for a double for Mayor Koch, someone who can go into the subways and mingle with the discontented New York residents in their natural environment. The drawing is well-executed, with some Dan O'Neill overtones, and the jokes work even outside area code 212. PA

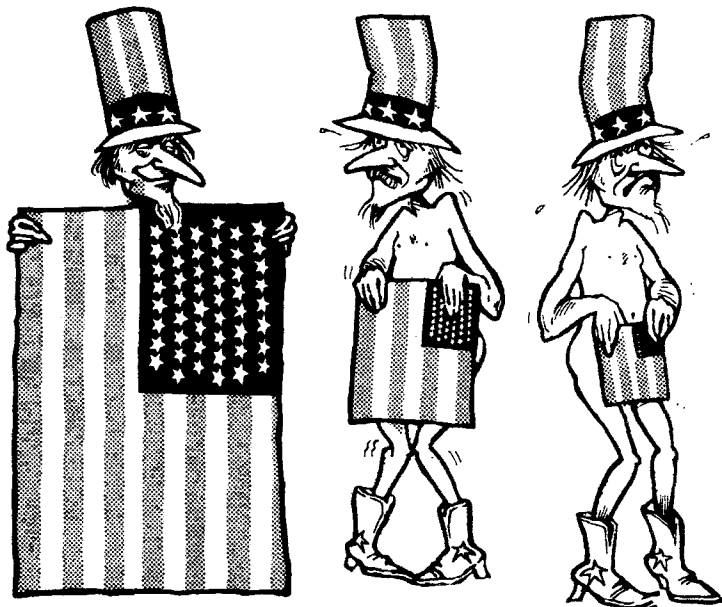
## Poverty and Power: The Case for a Political Approach to Development and Its Implications for Action in the West

By Rachel Heatley  
Lawrence Hill, 520 Riverside Ave., Westport, CT 06880  
93 pp., \$5.00.  
This is a solid primer on underdevelopment, especially appropriate for a college audience concerned with world problems and drawn to social programs. It was written from the experience of English veterans of Peace Corps-like programs. The book spells out the international capitalist connection and endorses a socialist alternative for third world countries, acknowledging the authoritarian drawbacks of what Heatley sees as the only

realistic alternative: a "communist one-party state." High on the list of recommended actions for those concerned with underdevelopment is political work within institutions such as unions and political parties at home, as well as the creation of alternative institutions such as co-ops. Graphics and cartoons along with the forthright, voice-of-experience prose make for easy reading. PA

## The Incredible Shrinking American Dream: An Illustrated People's History of the United States

By Estelle Carol, Rhoda Grossman and Bob Simpson, of the Chicago Comic Book project  
Alyson Publications, Boston  
171 pp., \$6.95.  
Teachers, parents and progressive coffee-table owners will want to know that this book



*The INCREDIBLE SHRINKING AMERICAN DREAM provides a people's history in pictures.*

exists, with its history as seen through working peoples', minorities' and women's lives, presented in a well-researched narrative and with a good strong dose of Mad magazine humor and graphic style. The ten chapters range from "Feudal Follies" to "The Nifty '50s" to "Hey, Mister, Can You Spare Some Changes." The book stays light but doesn't lose its bite throughout its

class analysis of the Civil War and Reconstruction, "The Law of Supply and De Man," the eight-hour day movement, the rise of mass advertising, credit and consumer culture, the Cold War, Vietnam war, the war at home and a final chapter on prospects for social and economic reorganization in the '80s. DZ

## A Trumpet to Arms: Alternative Media in America

By David Armstrong  
Houghton Mifflin, 369 pp., \$14.95.  
Armstrong intertwines a history of '60s and '70s cultural, social and political movements with a history of their "trumpets to arms." He also includes a good section on governmental suppression of these dissenting voices. Notably lacking, though, is a discussion of current left political printed media such as *The Nation*, *The Progressive* and *In These Times*, since his focus is primarily on lifestyle rather than political alternatives. Armstrong stresses that America's

alternative media must sever its dependence on advertisers, promote two-way communication between readers and producers and adopt more egalitarian management structures in order to serve their proper and useful purpose—facilitating the exchange of information. PG

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, Paul Ginger, Debbie Zucker.

Only several weeks later was it quietly disclosed, over CIA objections, that Welch had been identified as CIA station chief in Peru, not Greece, and long before his transfer; that the Athens house he occupied was well known as the local CIA chief's residence; and that because of both this and anti-CIA sentiment in Greece, Welch had been strongly and repeatedly urged by CIA Headquarters to find other housing, for his own protection—but had refused to do so.

None of this was mentioned in the CIA media blitz following the killing. Another media uproar ensued after the Jamaica incident, which occurred two days after *Covert Action's* Lou Wolf held a press conference there and named 14 other U.S. Embassy staff people as covert CIA agents working under Kinsman's direction. Kinsman's garage and an empty bedroom were shot up, and a small explosive device may have been tossed on his front lawn. Kinsman's family was away at the time; only he and a maid were in the house, and neither was injured.

When the *Covert Action* staff revisited Jamaica shortly after the attack they came away "convinced that the incident was a phony." They pointed out that Kinsman had been named in the magazine more than a year before, and written up in the Jamaica papers, without incident; they said no bomb fragments were ever found; and the timing of the attack, with the family away and almost all the bullet holes in an empty garage, was too convenient.

The timing of the attack was perfect politically. It came just at the moment necessary to ensure the bill's passage undiluted through the House Judiciary Committee, to which it had been referred after the Intelligence Committee finished with it, over the opposition of several liberal Judiciary members. Only the rush to adjournment in an election year kept the bill from coming to the floor, and probably to an overwhelmingly favorable vote. Ed Boland reintroduced the bill, as HR4, as soon as Congress reconvened last January, and he has made it the committee's first priority.

## Angry journalists.

The line of reporters, press lawyers and constitutional scholars opposing the bill is long and getting longer. For example, Professor Philip Kurland, a constitutional authority at the University of Chicago who studied the Senate version of Boland's bill at the invitation of Senator Edward Kennedy, called it "the clearest violation of the First Amendment attempted by Congress in this era." Said Ford Rowan, a former NBC correspondent and also an attorney, "My only conclusion in this matter must be that the legislation is unnecessary, unworkable, unconstitutional." The ACLU declared: "The vigorous opposition to this bill on the part of every major press organization should remove any doubt that its passage would chill public debate."

(Since this testimony was offered to the House and Senate intelligence committees, critics of the legislation have received another jolt. At the end of June, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld by a seven-to-two vote a 1966 State Department regulation authorizing the secretary of state to lift the passport of anyone whose actions are determined to be "causing or...likely to cause serious damage to the national

security or the foreign policy of the United States." The case resulted from the State Department's lifting in 1979 of the passport of Philip Agee, a former CIA secret agent.)

(The *New York Times*, while revealing Agee as a turncoat, editorially assailed the decision as a "bad new law" that "wounds all who believe in a government of duly enacted laws." *Covert Action's* Bill Scaap agreed that it was a "very scary" decision.)

The House bill is especially worrisome to many reporters because it hangs the criminality of disclosure on a person's intent, which could send prosecutors combing through a reporter's previous work to establish a purpose to "impair or impede" U.S. intelligence operations.

Even some congressmen were moved to eloquent, if impotent opposition. John Seiberling, a liberal Ohio Democrat, insisted that "there are times when it is in the public interest to disclose things that have been classified, and there are times when the actions of covert agents, even if authorized from on high, are so reprehensible, that they ought to be disclosed. Perhaps sometimes the only way you can blow the whistle is to disclose the identities."

Most telling of all was the dissent of Les Aspin. Aspin was the only member of the Intelligence Committee to challenge the 501(c) unclassified disclosure provision, though to no avail. His reasoning was simple and damning. "Surely the CIA would not want to admit that covert arrangements are so poorly designed that they can be penetrated by a little work in the public library."

(In fact, the CIA has admitted to the committee several times that poor cover was much of the problem. Asked how good cover was, William Colby said frankly, "It was terrible." But these admissions have not affected the legislation, except to have included in it a clause directing the president to improve cover arrangements.)

Over the past two years, the legislation has been steadily broadened, first to cover unclassified disclosures, then, at the suggestion of the FBI, to include the Bureau as well as the CIA, becoming steadily more potentially oppressive in its effects. And the Intelligence Identities Protection Act is only the first item on the CIA's current congressional shopping list. Next it wants a blanket exemption from the Freedom of Information Act. And the committee at this point appears well disposed to indulge that request as well—when I expressed concern about this proposal, O'Neil merely chuckled. "Looks like you're in for a year of disappointments," he allowed.

Maybe so. But perhaps the biggest disappointment is to see the committee that Ed Boland promised would not become the "unquestioning ratifier of all that the intelligence community proposes" turn into such a close facsimile of just that. ■

Chuck Fager regularly writes on policy issues for alternative newspapers.

For more information from *Covert Action* write CAIB, P.O. Box 50272, Washington, D.C. 20004.



# CIA

Continued from page 24

HR4 comes down to: in order to stop Schaap, Ray and Wolf from printing their "Naming Names" column, the bill would clearly criminalize, for the first time in U.S. history, the disclosure of information already in the public domain.

To be specific, Section 501(c) states, "Whoever, in the course of an effort to identify and expose covert agents with the intent to impair or impede the foreign intelligence activities of the United States, discloses with the intent to impair or impede the foreign intelligence activities of the United States, to any individual not authorized to receive classified information, any information that identifies a covert agent knowing that the information disclosed so identifies such covert agent and that the United States is taking affirmative measures to conceal such covert agent's intelligence relationship to the United States, shall be fined not more than \$15,000

or imprisoned not more than three years, or both."

The repetition of the intent clause was explained by the drafters as their attempt to draw this legislation so precisely that only one publication, *Covert Action*, would meet its requirement; and for that matter, that only one section of *Covert Action*, the "Naming Names" column, would be subject to prosecution. Would it work that way? Of the journalists who testified before the committee, only one, right-winger M. Stanton Evans, thought so.

The committee's claim that its bill would affect *Covert Action* alone appeared even more suspect in light of a last-minute revision. Almost as an afterthought, without hearings, the Boland committee expanded the scope of the legislation to protect also the identity of covert domestic FBI agents and informers working within the United States. Civil libertarians have pointed out that there is no publication naming names of covert FBI agents in the manner of *Covert Action*.

"It's the CIA wives who really get to you," said Mike O'Neil. "The harassment that so many

families of these people who have been identified have to face is really awful."

O'Neil is chief counsel to the Boland committee. It is such widespread suffering of the innocent, he suggested, that makes it necessary to stop *Covert Action* from naming names.

O'Neil offered no concrete examples of this harassment, and there are only occasional vague references to it in the testimony on HR4. The two specific incidents mentioned, again and again, do not involve families. The first was the killing of Richard Welch, CIA station chief in Athens, Greece, on Christmas Eve, 1975. The second was an attack on the house of Richard Kinsman, the station chief in Kingston, Jamaica, on July 4 of last year. Both men had previously been identified as covert CIA agents, Kinsman by *Covert Action* and Welch by a predecessor publication, *Counterspy*.

Both incidents were seized upon by the intelligence community to push for intelligence identities legislation. The outcry in Congress was vehement, swinging sentiment away from intelligence critics and toward the support of the agency.



## ART &amp; ENTERTAINMENT



## FILM

## The revolution in one barrio

By Paul Heath Hoeffel

*The Uprising* (Kino International) probably will not enhance Peter Lilienthal's reputation as a political filmmaker. (His earlier films are *Calm Prevails over the Countryside*, about fascism in Latin America, and *David*, about Jews in Hitler's Germany, the latter opening this fall in New York.) Nor will it bolster the reputation of Chilean exile novelist and screenwriter Antonio Skarmeta, who wrote it. An American-style docudrama about a working-class family in a scruffy neighborhood of the Nicaraguan town Leon in the weeks before the final uprising against Somoza's National Guard in 1979, it's simplistic, predictable and suffers from slipshod editing. Yet it contains enough material to make it worthwhile for a North American audience starved for images

of the grassroots struggles in Central America.

A young National Guardsman (Agustin Pereira) is torn between the Sandinista insurrection and the National Guard. His father (Carlos Cantania), a broken-down road worker unable to make ends meet in a broken-down economy, is a Sandinista sympathizer. The son's commanding officer (overplayed by the only professional actor in the film, Oscar Castillo, a Costa Rican), offers him regular money and a chance at a technical education in the U.S. The righteousness of the young man's family (his sister has joined the Sandinistas in the countryside) is sharply contrasted with the decadent alternative presented by the captain, whose Mercedes and dark glasses blend with gratuitous sado-homosexual overtones to his behavior.

The strength of the film, which was made with money

from West German TV, lies not in the characterizations or plot, but in its depiction of daily life in the neighborhood. Lilienthal, whose family fled to Uruguay from Germany in 1939 when he was 13, has an eye for the *barrio* that keeps the film moving. From the family's airy patio to the cobblestoned streets, from peddlers to small shops with shots of well-oiled if ramshackle sewing machines, printing presses and lathes, the film emanates a sense of a tight-knit neighborhood interrupted only by raids from the intrusive, alien *Guardia*.

But the film is not parochial. There is an international feeling to it, enhanced by haunting accordion music of Argentine tangos (Clause Bantzer is given music credit). The neighborhood could be a working-class neighborhood in Santo Domingo or Montevideo or Santiago, and the *muchachos* in the streets could have been Montoneros or Tupamaros of another time.

*The Uprising's* fast-paced battle scenes between the Sandinista streetfighters and the *Guardia* are revealing if sometimes stilted. The citizens of Leon were apparently delighted to reenact the final takeover of the *Guardia*

garrison in that university town, scenes that climax the film, only months after the fact. To an audience accustomed to news footage of civil warfare in places like

cal debate amongst the rebels. At first this is annoying—we would like to know what these people are thinking and what they expect from their triumph over the Somoza dictatorship. Aside from a confrontation in which mothers of *Guardia* recruits storm the garrison in the middle of the film to protest the killing that has turned their neighborhood life upside down (in response, the Somocista captain lectures them on saving the country from communism), there are no political confrontations.

This omission, however, points to a problem inherent in the Nicaraguan revolution—the lack of previous political formation and preparation on the part of the vast majority of the Nicaraguan people. The revolutionary momentum generated by the sheer hatred for the Somoza regime was enough to bring it down through such tactics as guerrilla warfare, mass insurrection and the general strike, even though these tactics had failed in the more prepared and sophisticated revolutionary contexts in Latin America. Now the revolution is vulnerable, in part because of inadequate ideological preparation. *The Uprising's* weaknesses suggest the dimensions of the problem.

We are lucky that it occurred to Peter Lilienthal to attempt to capture a slice of Nicaraguan experience in this crucial period of struggle. Yet *The Uprising* is lacking the richness and complexity that someone with firsthand experience with the gripping final months of dictatorship might have lent to such a film.



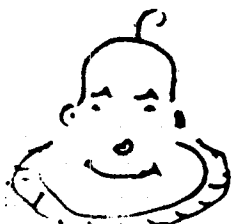
Beirut, where sophisticated weaponry is employed on both sides, the underdevelopment of the violence—youths with pistols and Molotov cocktails against creaky old armored vehicles—further emphasizes the human scale of the conflict and of the film.

But not once during the 96-minute film is there a political discussion or a hint of ideologi-

An adequate effort inspired by a major triumph, it pales before a film like Costa Gavras' *State of Siege*, a dramatization of the Tupamaro guerrillas' kidnapping of a U.S. official in Uruguay in 1970.

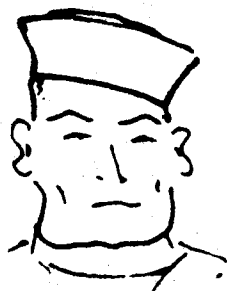
Paul Hoeffel, for five years a reporter in Latin America, most recently wrote on Latin American issues for the *New York Times Magazine*.

## CULTURE SHOCK



## IF YOU CAN DRAW THIS, YOU CAN BE PRESIDENT

In an attempt to promote art in America despite cutbacks in government arts programs, President Reagan has taken to presenting Cabinet secretaries with his doodles from meetings in the Oval Office.



Ronald Reagan

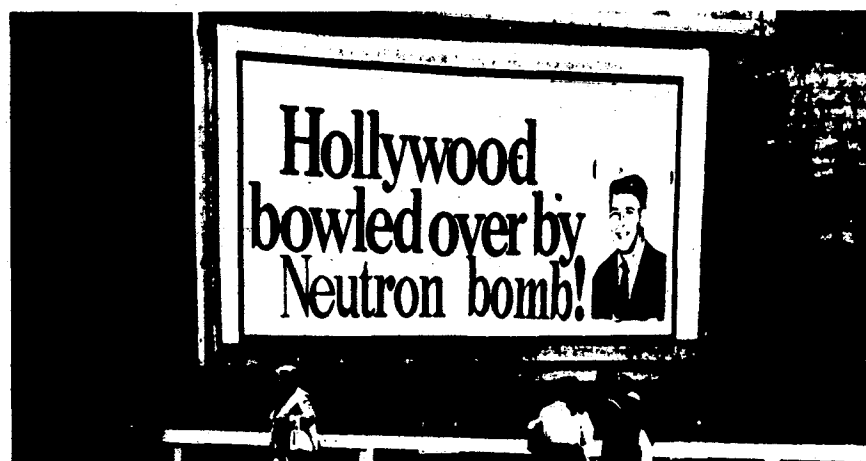
## MEDIA CONSCIOUS

Republican Senate leaders have decided that Democrats must sit on the left side of the chairman—not for their political views but because TV camera angles are better from the right. (*Zodiac*)

## NO FAULT?

The American Home Assurance company is selling pollution liability insurance to corporations, to protect against liability from "gradual pollution."

## BILLBOARDS



This Seattle billboard suddenly advertised a new product hazardous to the health.



## VISUAL ARTS

## Guernica is still hot to handle



The painting stayed in New York City for decades because the Spanish Refugee Relief Committee couldn't come up with funds to ship it back.

By Gary Michael Tartakov

On Sept. 9, after 42 years at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, Pablo Picasso's jarring evocation of the fascist bombing of the undefended Basque town of Guernica has finally gone to Spain. Though it had been known for several years that the giant 25 x 12 foot canvas would be moved this year, the actual date remained a secret because of what the museum's director called "overriding security considerations."

From its beginning Guernica has been a center of furor. When the German air squadrons flying for Franco destroyed most of the town, killing several thousand civilians on April 26, 1937, Guernica was not a military target. War correspondents at the scene reported the event as a new kind of warfare, in which the terrorizing and devastating of civilian populations by aerial bombing would replace combat by military forces.

Though the destruction of Guernica has now come to symbolize just that, it was not clear at that time. Both the German Foreign Office and Franco denied that the town was bombed at all. They claimed it was dynamited from within by anarchists and communists. The stage was set for a controversy between partisans in the Spanish Civil War and also outside Spain, particularly in Britain, France and the U.S., where a biased neutrality favoring Franco's rebellion kept vital economic and military support from the communist-led Republican government.

Picasso's painting, commissioned by the Republic for its pavilion at the Paris World Exposition of 1937, played a role in that controversy. If Guernica's fame helps keep the memory of the bombing of Guernica fresh in the consciousness of the Western world today, it was the controversy and the war that made Guernica the best known painting of the 20th century.

Communists and other Popular Front supporters of the Republican cause used the painting to raise funds, supplies and sympathy for the war effort, through exhibitions in France, Britain and the U.S. Before the fascist victory of 1939, they used the work, along with 62 associated studies and Picasso's obscene comic strip, "The Dream and Lie of Franco," to raise money for the

relief of Spanish refugees.

The painting landed in the Museum of Modern Art through the Museum's desire to have a giant exhibit, *Picasso: Forty Years of His Art*, and the Spanish Refugee Relief Committee's inability to pay outstanding bills for shipping it across the Atlantic. The outbreak of World War II kept it here.

#### New meanings.

Guernica's cultural career has continued to be stormy. Some critics of the right have assailed it as communist propaganda. Some of the doctrinaire left have called it petty bourgeois and elitist because of its abstract style. In the Museum of Modern Art, divorced from the purposes of the Spanish Republic and the Popular Front's left politics, its exhibition has taken on a liberal symbolism and meaning. From an instrument for anti-fascist propaganda and fundraising it has been turned into a display of artistic skill, with an attached label saying that "Picasso him-

### Picasso's controversial work has now become a symbol for Basque nationalists.

self has denied it any political significance."

But the controversy has not ceased. Both the left and the right have continued to struggle for possession of the painting, its prestige and its meaning. During the late '50s Franco tried to acquire the painting as a demonstration of his triumph and an end to the national division associated with it. Picasso, whose works had been banned in Franco's Spain up to that time, refused. Instead he had a document drawn up to declare that the work should go to the Spanish people, but only after the nation had returned to political democracy.

During the Vietnam war American anti-war activists tried to have the work withdrawn from

display, in condemnation of the U.S. government's terror bombing of civilian populations in Southeast Asia. But the Museum and Picasso rejected their demands.

Since Picasso's death in 1973 and Franco's two years later, the struggle for possession of the painting has continued to pick up speed. Now, 44 years after it was painted in Paris, the most famous work of Spanish art in the 20th century has finally reached Spain. It is to be exhibited in an annex of the Prado Museum, Spain's national museum, beginning Oct. 25, the centenary of Picasso's birth. According to the Spanish minister of culture, the painting "poses a demand for peace, which balances perfectly with the recon-

ciliation obtaining among all Spaniards, with the democratic constitution."

But for how long? The "overriding security considerations" that imposed secrecy over Guernica's transfer from New York to Madrid were required, not by any fear of the reaction of American art lovers, but by a danger posed in Spain. The "reconciliation obtaining among all Spaniards" that Guernica's presence on Spanish soil is intended to symbolize is not yet an established fact. Or at least, not a peaceful one.

Since Franco's death and the reestablishment of democratic rights it has been known that Guernica was coming to Spain. And since that date Basque nationalists, including the popularly elected officials of the town of Guernica, have demanded that the work—which to them symbolizes the devastation of the Basque by the Spanish—be housed in Guernica, not Madrid. So Guernica stands today symbolic of the "reconciliation" that many Basque nationalists and separatists refuse to accept. The issue of Basque nationalism, a critical factor in Basque support of the Republic in the Civil War, is still unsettled and violent. In spite of the important regional autonomy given the Basques in the current constitution, they continue to resist integration with Spain.

The ETA (Basque Land and Liberty), the most militant element of this opposition, uses both political assassination and terrorist bombings to advance its case, shooting Spanish police in the Basque region and bombing tourists on the Spanish Riviera. It is difficult to imagine they will not see the Spanish government's attempt to keep this famous symbol of their struggle in the Spanish capital of Madrid as a major provocation.

The controversy over Guernica is not over yet. The painting, regardless of the wishes of its painter, is still tied to its subject matter, the Basque struggle for independence. ■

Gary Michael Tartakov writes on the visual arts of Asia and the West for *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, *Artis Asiae* and other journals.

## FILM

## Stern's message to China is universal

By Liane Ellison Norman

The movie theater was one stuffy half of an older hall where now there were two audiences, divided by a thin wall, seeing two different films. The floor was paved with old chewing gum and spilled soft drinks, and a litter of popcorn boxes nudged my foot in the dark. I had seen the film once with my husband, and declaring it "the only indispensable film I've ever seen," I took my daughters, one of whom plays the violin, and I wept this time as I had the first.

It is a documentary about Isaac Stern in China, which won an Academy Award last year. It is built around Stern's ego, which musician friends confirm is no small thing—they also say he has enormous influence on who has access to the concert stage and recording studios. *From Mao to Mozart* (United Artists Classics) is a propaganda film, not only on behalf of

the Chinese repudiation of Mao's cultural revolution and the present reopening of China to Western ideas, but also on behalf of Stern himself and his conviction that music is a statement of individual faith and commitment.

Though there are exquisite scenes of the Chinese countryside and breathtaking exhibitions of Chinese artistry, it is Stern's film. His wife and two sons, who went with him, get into the camera lens only by accident and without introduction. Pianist David Golub, an artist in his own right, appears only as Stern's accompanist. It's not a tactful film, or even a kind one. I think Stern is possessed by the urgency of his message, and I think he's right to be, though I suspect that being his wife or child or accompanist or even his host country isn't easy.

Two things about the film moved me and continue to move me as its images recur. One is Stern's love for music, which he

presents as the expression and communication of passion. He finds great virtuosity in students, but says in every way he can that virtuosity must serve music rather than the other way around. The musician must open him or herself to the composer and in turn expose him or herself to whomever hears.

This isn't only a message for Chinese, who provide the colorful occasion for what needs to be said even more forcefully to Westerners. Simone Weil, the French philosopher and essayist, spoke of prayer as "perfect attentiveness"; *From Mao to Mozart* shows a man renowned for his artistry, as well as several gifted Chinese children, rapt in musical prayer that penetrates

the listener's protections as well.

The other thing that moved me is Stern's love for and confidence in the young musicians he instructs. Over and over he helps them find their own vulnerability to communion with and communication of musical passion. The intensity of Stern's connection with young people moved me to tears. In a time when technique of all kinds is very nearly worshipped, Stern affirms and celebrates relationship.

However much the film is propaganda for Stern himself, it is even more propaganda for human responsibility, human vulnerability, human connection. ■

Liane Norman teaches English at the University of Pittsburgh.



Stern teaches that virtuosity isn't everything.



# Army

Continued from page 11

as a target range while the western side is reserved for training and ammunition storage facilities. For purposes of Ocean Venture '81, Vieques was the site of the parachute drop and the amphibious assault by the marines. A live fire demonstration was cancelled due to rough seas caused by tropical storm Dennis.

Carlos Zenon, head of the Vieques Fishermen's Association, has led numerous demonstrations against the naval presence. The fishermen, along with supporters from the main island, have often occupied the target area in small boats to prevent ships from firing. Zenon said that the island has been seriously depopulated by the military presence—there is very little agricultural land available now and almost no jobs left on the island. The unemployment rate on Vieques is 62 percent, and 85 percent of the people are on food stamps, said Zenon. "There are more Viequeses on the island of St. Croix, Virgin Islands, than here," he added.

Lt. Drew Malcomb, the chief public affairs officer for the Roosevelt Roads facility, said during the exercise, "Oh, we haven't had much trouble with the local people. They are all pretty much pro-Navy." Indeed, during this exercise things went smoothly at least in part because the tropical storm curtailed any live-fire activities.

But Lt. Malcomb apparently chose to overlook the fact that many people have been arrested at past demonstrations and that the issue of Vieques and the violation of Puerto Rican sovereignty is one of the few issues that unites all political factions on the island. In fact, the ruling pro-statehood party has filed civil suit against the Navy for damages wrought by the continued bombardment of Vieques. ■  
*A. Lin Neumann last reported for In These Times on the politics of the Philippines.*

# Fever

Continued from page 11

crop; it was later revealed that a CIA "dirty tricks" caper had seeded rainclouds heading for Cuba so that they would drop their moisture before reaching the island. Later, the New York paper *Newsday* reported that in 1971 the CIA had successfully introduced the African swine fever virus into Cuba.

Startling evidence that U.S. intelligence experimented using mosquito-borne vir-

uses came to light in a report entitled, "Summary of Major Events and Problems," prepared by the U.S. Army Chemical Corps and released under the Freedom of Information Act. Though the report deals only with the years up to and including 1959, it reveals that research in the area was already progressing rapidly at that time.

As early as 1953 the Army Biological Warfare Laboratories was studying the use of mosquitoes for spreading anti-personnel BW agents. The mosquito mentioned in the report, *Aedes aegypti*, is a carrier of yellow fever virus as well as dengue fever and equine encephalitis. All three belong to a closely related group known as arboviruses. Yellow fever is specifically mentioned as a promising agent for BW against the Soviet Union, where the disease is rare and the population therefore susceptible.

The Army did more than speculate. It developed methods of breeding large numbers of mosquitoes, eventually reaching a capability of a half million infected mosquitoes a month.

To perfect methods of distributing the mosquitoes field tests using noninfected insects were conducted near Savannah, Ga., and Avon Park, Fla., from 1956 through 1958. The insects were released into residential areas from ground level and dropped on the unsuspecting public from planes and helicopters.

Immediately following the Cuban revolution of January 1959, the Pentagon recommended a five-fold expansion in its BW research and development program over a five-year period.

This coincided with a major CIA covert program, code-named operation Mongoose, designed to destabilize the fledgling government. At its height Mongoose employed approximately 400 agents with 32 planning tasks, including the now-infamous poisoned cigars destined for Fidel Castro's use. Senate hearings in 1975 revealed that chemical warfare against crops and the workers harvesting them were also part of operation Mongoose.

## Conspiracy or coincidence?

What, if any, connection exists between operation Mongoose, or its current equivalent, and this year's epidemic of break-bone fever? As the army report itself noted, "If military attack were made with *Aedes aegypti* mosquitoes it would be quite difficult to detect the fact, particularly if this type of mosquito ordinarily lived in the area."

In sum, it would be extremely difficult to find a "smoking gun." But the record does show that the U.S. Department of Defense had the weapon, the motive and a long history of similar offenses. ■

*Ellen Bulf is a medical technologist who has been involved in Latin American support work in the Bay Area.*

# Larzac

Continued from page 9

and work in our country." The idea that the region was suffering from "internal colonialism" first dawned in the winter of 1961-62, when the coal mines were shut down in Decazeville in northern Aveyron, some 60 miles north of the Larzac plateau. In protest, miners struck for over two months, 20 miners went on a hunger strike in the pits that lasted 10 days, the whole local population rallied in support and 300 Aveyron mayors resigned. But the mines were shut down anyway, and the defeat was demoralizing.

In recent years, the only business that has managed to thrive in the area is tourism. The region has lots of scenery to sell. But the business is often in the hands of outsiders, and the influx of Parisians and other foreigners, along with the exodus of the local peasants who used to tend the now-crumbling mountainside vineyard terraces and delight visitors with their southern accents, gradually tends to destroy much of the charm that attracted the tourists in the first place. A lot of people raised in the work ethic of productive labor not only have trouble fitting into a tourist economy but feel intuitively that this essentially superfluous activity cannot provide the basis for a stable economy, social fabric or culture.

For Occitan regionalists, it was really the last straw for Paris to decree the expulsion of a group of farmers actually clinging to the land and making a living from it.

After all the publicity, Larzac could easily cash in on the tourist trade. This is something the veterans of the decade of struggle want to avoid. They want to save their very real and generous hospitality for gatherings like the international peace meeting, or for very restricted tourism, such as summer camp for han-

dicapped children, that will not disturb the environmental balance.

## Back to basics.

Larzac farmers won because they had the courageous imagination to seek and accept solidarity from all kinds of people. They can now keep on farming, aware of being part of a small planet where the powers that be are still trying "to solve economic problems by building death machines."

The basic issue that drew so many people from Peruvian Indians to German hippies to Larzac is as acute as ever. Larzac is an exceptional victory of peaceful productive labor over wasteful and destructive militarization, since all over the world the trend is in the opposite direction: toward the uprooting of peasants, the destruction of stable ecological cycles, ever more massive poverty, idleness and famine and the growth of an insatiable war machine feeding off the social upheavals it helps create.

The source of this disastrous trend can be seen in the crisis of a development model—that of advanced capitalism—in which nothing seems to work any more except military spending. Voters unhappy because of the recession? Give them an army base, or an arms factory. Unless whole populations manage to follow the Larzac example and refuse this false solution to their problems, the world is heading for a flood of catastrophes that will sweep away the Larzac Noah's Ark with the rest.

The more prosaic and immediate question facing Larzac farmers today is what to do with the land acquired by the government for the extension of the camp. The Socialist government seems ready to help the farmers use it to develop some sort of cooperative system. "The land," says Guy Tarlier, "belongs first of all to those who work it, but why not to the people it feeds and to visiting strollers so long as they treat it with respect." There must be down-to-earth practical arrangements to correspond to the most exalting universal ideals. This is the new challenge to the farmers of Larzac. ■

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

### CHICAGO, IL

#### September 26

Meet John Nichols, author of "The Milagro Beanfield War," "Magic Journey" and "The Nirvana Blues," Saturday, from 1 to 4 p.m. at Guild Books & Periodicals, 1118 W. Armitage (1 1/2 blocks west of the Armitage stop on the Ravenswood El). For more information, call (312) 525-3667.

#### September 26

"Is There a Fascist Danger in the U.S.?"—Panel discussion with Rev. Ben Chavis (Wilmington 10), Silva Kushner (Chicago Peace Council), Chokwe Lumumba (Republic of New Africa), Jitu Weusi (Black United Front), Barry Weisberg (UNITE! newspaper). A UNITE! Forum, Saturday, 7:00 p.m., Blackstone Hotel, 636 Michigan Ave., (312) 238-6095.

#### October 1-3

South African playwright, Salaelo Maredi, author of the acclaimed "Survival," directs and acts in his new play "For Better or For Worse," a conflict, struggle and resolution between three types of contemporary South Africa. At 8:00 p.m. CrossCurrents, 3206 N. Wilton (Belmont at the El). For information and reservations call (312) 472-7778.

#### October 2-3

Jobs, Energy and Economic Growth. Conference on Progressive Approaches to Reindustrialization, Calumet College, Whiting, Ind. (25 mi. east of Chicago). Co-sponsored by NAM and DSOC. Speakers: Michael Harrington, Barry Commoner, Roberta Lynch. Workshops include: Crisis in Steel; Synthetic Fuels: Reindustrialization and Energy; Plant Closings and the Black Community; Job Loss and Women Workers. Panel: Reindustrialization and Public Control of the Economy. Cost: \$15. For more in-

formation contact: Bill Barclay, NAM, 3244 N. Clark, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 871-7700.

### WASHINGTON, DC

#### September 25-26

Ralph Nader and Public Citizen are sponsoring a 10th Anniversary Conference: "Taking Charge: The Next Ten Years." There will be many speakers, debates and a benefit concert with Pete Seeger. At the Shoreham Hotel on Friday and Saturday. For more information, contact: Taking Charge Conference, P.O. Box 19367, Washington, DC 20036. (202) 387-8030.

### BUFFALO, NY

#### October 3

Union Democracy Working Conference: "Your Rights in Your Union." O'Brien Hall, Amherst campus, Law School—SUNY. Speakers include: H.W. Benson, James Atkinson, Robert Rabin, Judith Schneider, Frank Schonfeld and others. For details contact: Association for Union Democracy, 215 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10003. (212) 473-0606.

### LAKE WINNIPESAUKEE, NH

#### October 16-18

New England Socialist Educational Conference in beautiful lakeside New Hampshire retreat. Keynote: Mike Harrington. Join DSOCers and friends in weekend of education, discussion, relaxation. Topics include Socialist History, Electoral Politics, Community Organizing, Parties, films. \$10.00 pre-registration. For information: DSOC, 120 Tremont St., Room 401, Boston, MA 02108. (617) 426-9026.

### BOSTON, MA

#### October 21-22

Boston DSOC Fall courses: "Community Organizing for Social Change" with Peter Dreier (Tufts University), starts October 21. "The Left in Electoral Politics" with Ray Dooley (campaign manager, State Rep. Tom Gallagher), starts Oct. 22. Contact: DSOC, 120 Tremont St., Room 401, Boston, MA 02108. (617) 426-9026.

## Winter Festival

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# Press

Continued from page 18

was indicted 19 times and finally murdered in 1934 soon after threatening to expose Governor Olson's supposed connections with the Twin Cities underworld.

Nevertheless, Near and Guilford emerge from *Minnesota Rag* with a certain charm. They exposed local monopolists' shakedown of a dry cleaner

named Sam Shapiro—the father, it would later turn out, of du Pont chairman Irving Shapiro. When gunmen sent Guilford to the hospital, Near wrote: "If the ochre-hearted rodents who fired those shots into the defenseless body of my buddy thought for a moment that they were ending the fight against gang rule in this city, they were mistaken."

For all its interest, *Minnesota Rag* doesn't give enough sense of what inspired the *Saturday Press'* sourness or what the corruption that pervaded Minneapolis meant to its inhabitants. (In 1934, when

"citizens' committees" tried to break a Trotskyist-led Teamsters' strike, the town exploded into a near-civil war.) Also, it's hard to tell from *Minnesota Rag* how threatening local anti-semitism was. (In the late '40s, Carey McWilliams described Minneapolis as the capital of anti-semitism in America.) Some Minnesotans found more intelligent ways than Near's to challenge corruption, but Friendly barely mentions possible alternatives like Olson's Farmer-Labor party.

As it stands, Friendly's book is in some ways a paean to crack-

pots. Besides Near and Guilford, these included *Chicago Tribune* publisher Colonel Robert R. McCormick, who hired lawyers for Near and pressured the American Newspaper Publishers Association into supporting him. The American Civil Liberties Union helped Near, too, but it took an eccentric right-wing xenophobe, the Colonel, to convince his fellow publishers that censorship endangered them.

It might have been helpful to compare Jay Near with someone who shared aspects of his background and character, and did

more to defend free speech—Justice Hugo Black. Black, too, had plenty of crackpot virtues, such as independence of mind, impatience with euphemism or complexity, and indifference to received opinion. But in addition, Black had a sense of justice and of kinship with the downtrodden.

**Seth Kupferberg is a staff lawyer with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union who has published in, among other places, *New Republic*, *Working Papers for a New Society* and *Columbia Journalism Review*.**

## CLASSIFIED

### PUBLICATIONS

**FREE SPEECH** and racist agitation, when is a word a deed? A respected linguist on free speech. Zionism and the Holocaust—\$2.00. Clarity Press, 175 5th Ave., 11011, NYC, NY 10010.

**GAY COMMUNITY NEWS**—National weekly. News of Lavender Left; international gay news. Feminist, non-profit. \$6/12 issues. GGN. Dept. INT, 22 Bromfield St., Boston, MA 02108.

**WE ARE PEOPLE** working below the mainstream. We represent the great movement of the people. We are the Socialist Republic, a magazine that calls for peaceful revolution. We want the majority to control industry and government. Subscribe to Socialist Republic, Box 80, New York, NY 10159. 6 issues, \$4.50. Published by Industrial Union Party.

**WHY NOAM CHOMSKY** is wrong in Holocaust debate—a controversial view—see "Free Speech" classified.

**SUBSCRIBE TO Missouri Valley Socialist**. Published quarterly by Socialist Party, USA, in Iowa, Nebraska, South Dakota, \$2/year. NW-ISP, Box 9/1, Sioux City, IA 51102.

**CENTRAL AMERICAN MONITOR**—Synopsis of latest news from international press on Central American countries. Subscriptions: \$10/yr. (20 issues). CISPE, 1151 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138.

**BEYOND MONOGAMY**—open relationships newsletter/networking facilitator. Features interviews, letters from readers. \$9/yr., sample \$1.00. Box 6877-IT, Denver, CO 80206.

### HELP WANTED

**PUBLICATIONS DIRECTOR** sought for National Lawyers Guild, non-profit progressive legal organization. Writing, editing, production skills required. Salary \$13,000-\$15,000 plus liberal fringe benefits. Send resume, writing sample, cover letter to NLG, 853 Broadway, Rm. 1705, New York, NY 10003 by September 30.

**IN THESE TIMES** advertising/promotion department needs help in coordinating its Fifth Anniversary greeting ad campaign. Volunteers in New York, Washington, D.C., Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles are especially needed. Contact: Bill Rehm, In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago,

IL 60622. (312) 489-4444.

**COORDINATOR**, Washington, DC Office, National Moratorium on Prison Construction, Unitarian Universalist Service Committee. Work with small nation-wide staff, building and serving network of individuals to advocate halting prison construction in favor of creating range of alternatives based on freedom and social justice. Experience in community organizing; knowledge of and willingness to learn more about the criminal justice system; writing, speaking, office management. Salary: \$17,500. Resumes by 9/25 to NMPC/UUSC, 324 C St., SE, Washington, DC 20003. EEO.

**RESEARCHER/WRITER**—Progressive political organization seeks person with strong research background in U.S. agriculture and popular writing skills, plus political commitment. \$14K, benefits. Resume and writing samples to Search Committee, Institute for Food and Development Policy, 2588 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94110.

**WIN MAGAZINE** seeks copyeditor. Start Oct. 1. Involves writing, editing and ms. solicitation. Also seeking Business/promotion Coordinator to handle finances, fundraising, and promotion starting Dec. 1. \$150/week. Resume and letter to WIN Staff Search, 326 Livingston St., Brooklyn, NY 11217.

**TEAMSTERS FOR A DEMOCRATIC UNION (TDU)**, the national rank and file movement for reform in the Teamsters is seeking an Office Administrator/Organizer. Responsibilities will be split between staff supervision and other administrative jobs and some organizing and outreach tasks. Hard work, long hours, many rewards. Position to be filled by Jan. 1, 1982. Salary range: \$9500. Contact TDU, Box 10128, Detroit, MI, or call (313) 842-2600.

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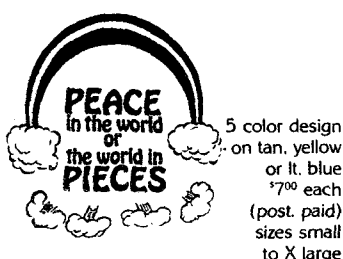
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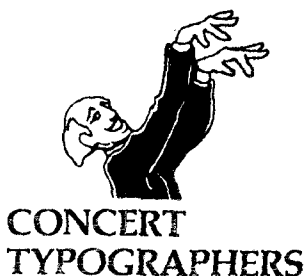
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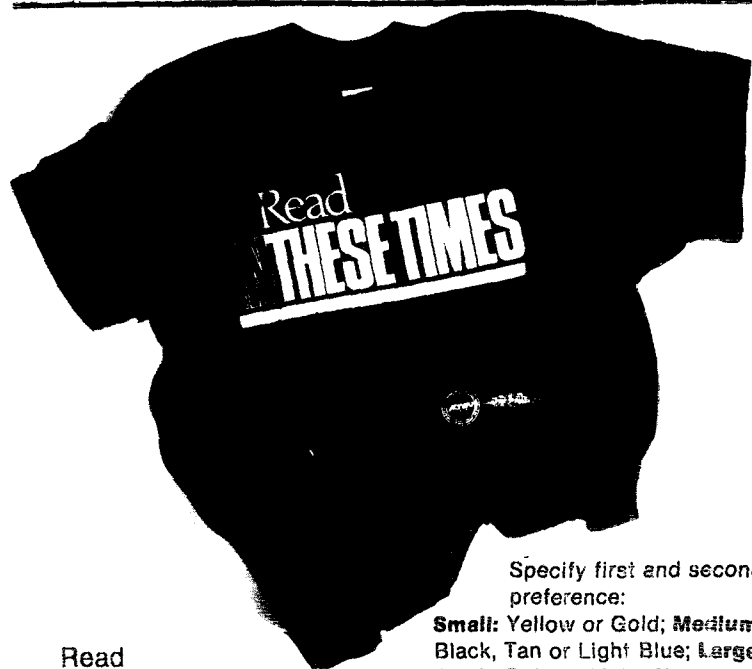
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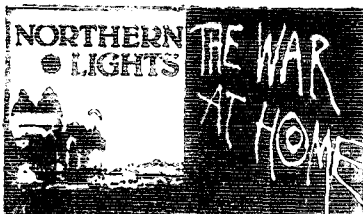
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# Acti vert

The CIA wants to make sure you hear no evil.



Covert Action (left to right, staffers Bill Schaap, Ellen Ray and Lou Wolf) gets names of CIA agents out of the public record and publishes them.

By Chuck Fager

**B**ILL SCHAAP THINKS THE CIA'S covert actions are a threat to democracy. Ed Boland believes that secret CIA spy work is necessary to democracy. Lou Wolf is sure that CIA law-breaking at home and covert intervention abroad are as widespread and dangerous as they ever were.

Ed Boland is convinced that CIA abuses are past and the agency is under control.

Ellen Ray feels that one way to help stop ongoing CIA abuses is to blow its agents' cover; so, along with Wolf and Schaap, she edits *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, which among other features regularly publishes the names and locations of covert CIA agents.

Ed Boland thinks that *Covert Action's* "Naming Names" column is an intolerable outrage; so as chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, he is sponsoring a bill, the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, HR4, intended to put Schaap, Wolf and Ray out of the naming of names business, or, failing that, behind bars.

Boland intends to stop *Covert Action*.

Edward Patrick Boland Sr. is an archetypal congressional insider. Secure in his solidly Democratic Springfield, Mass., district, he has maintained so low a profile in the House during nearly three decades of service as to be all but invisible. He makes few speeches, rarely deals with the press (I was only able to interview him by mail, submitting written questions to which he sent written replies), and he has no legislation named after him. Even so, he is a figure of considerable stature in the House, having apparently staked his career on two basic political maxims: first, Stick with the Leadership; and second, Follow the Money.

The leader in this case is Speaker Tip O'Neill, his close friend since both served in the Massachusetts legislature nearly half a century ago. He has followed the money from where it counts, the House Appropriations Committee, on which he has risen to the number two Democratic

spot, ready to assume formal command when chairman Jamie Whitten of Mississippi falters or steps aside.

For that matter, the money has also followed him, as it has a way of doing with influential members. Last year he raised almost \$45,000 in contributions for a campaign in which he was essentially unopposed.

Tracking Boland in the *Congressional Record* index shows him rarely indulging in that packaged political bombast with which issues are fattened. Rather, he turns up most often where a key insider should, as an appointee to crucial conference committees with the Senate, where, away from the limelight, so much of Congress' real work actually gets done.

Such appointments are a measure of the esteem and confidence of the leadership. And so was Boland's selection as chairman of the new Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence in 1977. The committee was created in the wake of the CIA scandals of the mid-'70s when a long string of exposures of abusive and counterproductive intelligence operations had rocked the CIA and produced demands for better congressional oversight of the agency. The post demanded someone who was smart, loyal and unspectacular. It made perfect sense for Tip O'Neill to tap his old friend for it.

Boland took the job professing high regard for the committee's role as a watchdog over the CIA. Instead, the thrust of the committee's hearings and publications, especially in the past two years, suggest that the CIA, bouncing back from the scandals of Watergate and its aftermath, has turned the committee into a congressional showplace for its interests. By last year, in fact, the committee had become the staging for counterattacks against the CIA's critics and the restrictions they had managed to place on it.

## Crusaders.

Bill Schaap and his coeditors are not surprised that the CIA is getting what it wants from the "watchdog" Intelligence Committee. They see the agency as "beyond reform." They would like to see it abolished and replaced by a new agency

restricted to noncovert intelligence gathering and analysis.

The editors carry on this crusade out of a small office on the tenth floor of the National Press Building, two blocks from the White House. The suite is cluttered with books, papers, and files; various liberation posters and portraits of revolutionary martyrs like Malcolm X and Che Guevara adorn the walls, along with a collection of Bill Schaap's various diplomas and certificates from his other career as an attorney.

The editors argue that the CIA's manipulation of foreign governments and its other abuses, including domestic spying, have not been ended by the shakeups of recent years. There is Central America and the Caribbean. South Korea. But most dramatically they point to the raid by South African commandos last January 30, striking 50 miles inside Mozambique, attacking a house where South African activist exiles were living, killing 12 and kidnapping three more. Five weeks later, the Mozambican government expelled six Americans identified as covert CIA agents, and produced witnesses and documents supporting allegations of their involvement in planning the raid. (The State Department and CIA declined comment on the charges.) The expulsions were not much noticed by U.S. media; but Ellen Ray, in a *Covert Action* article, called the group "one of the largest and most sinister spy rings ever uncovered."

It is hard for a nonspecialist to judge the accuracy of much of *Covert Action's* reporting. Their support of any and all third world liberation movements would call for careful checking out of reports like the one about Mozambique. But their "Naming Names" column, at least, has a weighty testimonial to its overall accuracy, in the form of the vehement opposition of the CIA. Particularly embarrassing to the agency is the fact that the names are gleaned not from classified sources but rather from publicly available documents, such as State Department biographical registers and the like.

In fact, this is what the whole flap over

*Continued on page 19*